DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 023 511 RC 002 587

By-Juarez, Rumaldo Z.

Educational Status Orientations of Mexican American and Anglo American Youth in Selected Low-Income Counties of Texas.

Spons Agency-Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.; Texas A and M Univ., College Station. Agricultural Experiment Station.

Pub Date Aug 68

Note-137p.; Thesis, Master of Science in Sociology, Graduate College of Texas A&M University.

EDRS Price MF-$0.75 HC-$6.95

Descriptors-Academic Aspiration, Achievement Need, *Anglo Americans, *Comparative Analysis, Economic Disadvantagement, *Educational Objectives, Educational Research, *Grade 10, *Mexican Americans, Rural Population, Sociology

Identifiers-*Texas

Research was conducted to determine the educational status orientations of a sample of Mexican American boys and girls living in low-income rural areas of Texas, and to compare the results by sex with educational status orientations of a similar sample of Anglo American boys and girls. Informational responses from a sample of 290 male and 306 female Mexican American high school sophomores attending school in 4 South Texas counties was obtained in 1967. Comparable data were obtained in 1966 from 143 male and 131 female Anglo sophomores in 3 East Central Texas counties. A chi-square test was selected as the method of analyzing the data. It was concluded that boys and girls from both ethnic groups aspired to high educational goals, supporting a proposition by the sociologist Robert Merton that patterned inculcation of high success goals approximates a culture universal in American society. A related document is RC 000 984. (VM)

EDUCATIONAL STATUS ORIENTATIONS OF MEXICAN AMERICAN AND ANGLO AMERICAN YOUTH IN SELECTED LOW-INCOME COUNTIES OF TEXAS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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A Thesis

by

RUMALDO Z. JUAREZ

ED023511

RC 002587

Submitted to the Graduate College of the
Texas A&M University in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

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Educational Status Orientations of Mexican American and Anglo American
Youth in Selected Low-Income Counties of Texas (August 1968)
Rumaldo Z. Juarez, B.S., Texas A&M University
Directed by: Dr. William P. Kuvlesky

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the educational status orientations of Mexican American boys and girls living in low-income rural areas of Texas and to compare these results to those obtained from a similar sample of Anglo American boys and girls. Two apparently contradictory theoretical propositions were examined: (1) Talcott Parsons' assertion that the Spanish-American subculture is characterized by the Particularistic-Ascriptive value pattern leads to the inference that Mexican American youth would have low-level educational status orientations; (2) on the other hand, Robert Merton's proposition that high goals are widely diffused among all segments of our society leads to the opposite inference. Information on Mexican American respondents was obtained in 1967 from 290 male and 306 female high school sophomores attending school in four South Texas counties. Comparable data were obtained in 1966 from 143 male and 131 female Anglo sophomores in three East Central Texas counties. The general research objective was to determine the relationships between the two ethnic types by sex on several elements of educational status orientations.

It was concluded from the findings that boys and girls from the two ethnic types maintained high-level educational goals: the vast majority of both ethnic types desired post high school education and smaller majorities aspired to at least graduate from a four-year college. Mexican American and Anglo boys differed more in reference to expectations than aspirations but differences for girls of either ethnic type were greater for aspirations than for expectations. In general, although boys from both ethnic types had relatively high expectations, Anglo boys clearly anticipated higher levels of education than Mexican American. On the other hand, Mexican American girls clearly demonstrated higher levels of educational expectations than their Anglo counterparts. It was also concluded that youth of either ethnic-sex type maintained strong desires for their educational goals; however, whereas the Mexican American boys clearly had a stronger intensity of desire for goals than Anglo boys, similar intensity levels were found in reference to girls. Anglo youth in general were more likely to feel certain about attaining their expected educational status than Mexican American youth. At the same time, the majority of youth from either ethnic-sex type felt some degree of certainty in this regard. Mexican American respondents experienced more frequent positive and negative anticipatory goal deflection than did youth of the other ethnic type.

Finally, it was concluded that the results of this study bring into question Parsons' assertion that the Spanish-American subculture is characterized by an emphasis on Particularistic-Ascriptive values. On the other hand, the evidence supports Merton's contention that patterned inculcation of high success goals approximates a culture universal in American society.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I express my sincerest appreciation to the many boys and girls who so graciously cooperated in this scientific endeavor. Equally deserving of recognition are all the school principals whose cooperation made this study possible. Also, I would like to recognize the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station and the Cooperative State Research Service of the United States Department of Agriculture for the financial support that made this study possible.

I am particularly grateful to my graduate advisor, Dr. William P. Kuvlesky, for his counsel, guidance, and criticism as well as for arousing my graduate interests in sociology. In addition, I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. Earl Jones, Professor of Education and Sociology and Director of Programa de Educación Interamericana and Dr. Walter A. Varvel, Professor of Psychology, who as members of my committee offered their constructive criticism and helpful advice.

Special gratitude is also extended to: Mrs. Sue Starr, Mrs. Annette Alsup, Miss Nancy Stone, and Miss Kathy Clemmons for typing the drafts; Mrs. Betty Campbell for her assistance with the statistical computation; Mrs. Sally Davison, IBM key punch operator; and Mrs. Ruth Cedillo, who typed the final copy. Recognition is given to members of the "brown-bag" noon seminar: Dave Wright, Tom Powers, Mike Lever, Sherry Wages, Tom Batson, Dannette Spiekerman, Nelson Jacob, and Ernie Davis, all of whom provided a great deal of insight and invaluable discussions. I am especially grateful to my close amigo Dave Wright, for his constructive criticism and the numerous discussions that contributed to a more

objective and scientific product of research. Also to my other fellow graduate students: Ed Tafertiller, Gary Fairchild, Sam Furrh, Ed Carpenter, Winston Wilson, Jack Sellers, Ken Wendland, Bob Stone, and the many other graduate students who helped to make my graduate studies a most rewarding experience.

Finally, to my parents, Leopoldo and Maria, for their moral support and encouragement throughout my educational endeavors. To my lovely wife, Teresa, who understandingly tolerated my worst moments throughout the graduate career and for her assistance in the proofreading of this investigation.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Mexican Americans are the largest ethnic minority in Texas and in the Southwest region.[1] They had the largest population increase between 1950-1960,[2] a disproportionate poverty ratio,[3] low occupational

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The citations on the following pages follow the style of Kate L. Turabian, A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967).

[1] The term Mexican American as used in this study refers to persons who are of Mexican or Spanish ancestry. Such diverse terms as Spanish-speaking Americans, Spanish-Americans, Mexicans, La Raza, Chicanos, Mexicanos, etc. are often used interchangeably to identify this ethnic category in the Southwest. Whenever the terms Anglo and Negro are used, they refer to Anglo American and Negro American, respectively. The categorical distinctions are used to represent sociologically meaningful categories and refer to the population of Texas and the United States. U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 45, Texas (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Tables 14 and 65; and U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Persons of Spanish Surname, Final Report PC (2) - 1B (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Tables 1 and 5.

[2] Herschel T. Manuel, Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest: Their Education and the Public Welfare (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965), table 5, p. 22.

[3] U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 45, Texas, Tables 14, 50, and 65; and U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Persons of Spanish Surname, Final Report PC (2) - 1B, Tables 3 and 5. Also, W. Kennedy Upham and Michael E. Lever, Differentials in the Incidence of Poverty in Texas, Departmental Information Report 66-9 (College Station: Texas A&M University, December 1965), table 13, p. 13.

achievement,[4] and very low educational attainment.[5]

In spite of the Mexican Americans' present socio-economic conditions, a review of research literature indicates that scientific literature relating to Mexican Americans is limited. Even though a number of anthropological studies of a descriptive nature have been done on Mexican Americans, research on their specific social problems has received little attention. The lack of systematic empirical knowledge, particularly about Mexican American youth, both reflects the lack of scientific interest in the Mexican American segment of the population and contributes to the lack of understanding of their particular problems by the general population.

Although problems of Mexican Americans did attract the attention of some social scientists and educators prior to the late forties, little attention has been focused on this minority group in recent years. A review of existing bibliographic materials clearly indicates that most of the relevant literature is outdated. Most of the recent material consists of highly subjective observations and interpretations that are difficult to verify and apply to a very restricted universe.[6] It is apparent from this review that there is a need for carefully conducted empirical research on Mexican Americans. This is particularly true in reference to the value-orientations of this minority and the effects these value-orientations have on cognitive and personality systems of the Mexican American youth.

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[4] U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 45, Texas, Table 122; and U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Persons of Spanish Surname, Final Report PC (2) - 1B, Table 6.

[5] U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 45, Texas, Table 47; U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Persons of Spanish Surname, Final Report PC (2) - 1B, Table 3; and Robert L. Skrabanek, Supplement to A Decade of Population Change in Texas, S-1000, (September, 1963), revised (July, 1964). Refer to Appendix A for population characteristics of Texas.

In American society education is generally viewed as an intermediate goal contributing toward man's ultimate placement in the social system. The bachelor's degree has become the ticket of admission to the occupations that provide entrance into the middle class.[7] Education has become a means for attaining a significant, reputable, and productive placement in our universalistic-achievement type of society. The demands of the contemporary technological era and its increased bureaucratization have raised the educational standards required for well paying jobs. Rosen states that "increasingly, lengthy, formal education often including college and post-graduate study, is needed for movement into prestigeful and lucrative jobs. An educational aspiration level which precludes college training may seriously affect the individual's chances for upward social mobility."[8] In addition to providing knowledge, education as a social institution also performs the roles of testing, selecting, and distributing individuals in the alternative sets of social positions.[9] Generally, in order to attain a satisfactory level of living, an individual needs to attain the education considered a prerequisite to qualify him for the particular occupation that he wants or that is necessary to provide the income or other life satisfaction he seeks. Put simply, educational attainment can be viewed as a critical element in the means-ends chain existing between man's desires and his satisfactions in a society characterized by achievement and universalistic evaluative standards.

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[6] For evidence see Mexican American Study Project, Bibliography, Advance Report No. 3, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration (Los Angeles: University of California, February, 1966). Also see, Steve Allen, The Ground is Our Table (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1966); Arthur Rubel, Across the Tracks: Mexican-Americans in a Texas City (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966); Celia S. Heller, Mexican American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads (New York: Random House, 1966); Irene Guerra, "The Social Aspirations of a Selected Group of Spanish-Name People in Laredo, Texas" (unpublished thesis, University of Texas, January, 1959), and Jack O'Brien Waddel, "Value Orientations of Young Mexican American Males as Reflected in Their Work Patterns and Employment Preferences" (unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Texas, June 2, 1962).

[7] Joseph A. Kahl, The American Class Structure (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1957), pp. 276-278.

This thesis' general concern is with educational status orientations (aspirations and expectations) of youth. These phenomena are thought to importantly influence status attainment.[10] The importance of status orientations is not only that of attainment but also of failure to attain perceived goals and the significance this has for the individual's social and psychological adjustment. If plans and goals are blocked, stress and frustration may evolve.[11] Likewise, if desired goals cannot be achieved through legitimate means, anomie may result.[12]

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[8] Bernard C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and the Achievement Syndromes," American Sociological Review, 24 (February, 1959), p. 57.

[9] Pitirim A. Sorokin, Social and Cultural Mobility (Illinois: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1959), pp. 187-193.

[10] Although there is some evidence which indicates that status orientations are not efficient predictors of attainment, evidence also exists to support the assumption that some connection exists between orientations and attainment. See William P. Kuvlesky and Robert C. Bealer, "The Relevance of Adolescents' Occupational Aspirations for Subsequent Job Attainment," Rural Sociology, 32 (September, 1967), pp. 290-301; Walter L. Slocum, Occupational Careers: A Sociological Perspective (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1966), pp. 190, 204, and

Studies of a status orientation nature are needed for purposes of evolving and directing action programs that will help disclose and resolve problems of attainment of higher social status faced by Mexican Americans.[13] Differences in mobility orientations between Mexican

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207; John R. Christiansen, James D. Cowhig, and John W. Payne, Educational and Occupational Aspirations of High School Seniors in Three Central Utah Counties, Social Science Bulletin Number 1 (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, June, 1962); and John R. Christiansen, et al., Educational and Occupational Progress of Rural Youth in Utah: A Follow-up Study, Social Science Bulletin Number 2 (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, August, 1962).

[11] Magda B. Arnolds "Stress and Emotion," in Psychological Stress, ed. by Mortimer H. Appley and Richard Trumhill (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967), p. 124; and C. N. Cofer and M. H. Appley, Motivation: Theory and Research (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967), Chapter 9.

[12] Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, enl. and rev. ed. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1951), p. 135.

[13] Based on the U. S. Census classification scheme, three times as many Anglos as Mexican American males fourteen years and older were in the professional, farmers, and managerial occupational categories. On the other hand, five times as many Mexican American males as Anglos had occupations in the categories of farm laborers and nonfarm laborers. In terms of median family income, the Mexican American family earned only about one-half as much as the Anglo family. In relation to education, the median years of school completed by persons twenty-five years of age and over was about twice as high for the Anglos--6.1 for the Mexican Americans and 11.5 for the Anglos. For a detailed breakdown of ethnic socio-economic differences in Texas, see Appendix A.

Americans and Anglos may contribute to their demonstrated differences along a number of important dimensions of social attainment.

There is a lack of empirical studies on educational status orientations of Mexican Americans and, also, comparative studies between Mexican Americans and Anglos. With a few exceptions, very little factual information exists on status orientations of either Mexican American youth or studies of a comparative nature between Mexican Americans and Anglos. What does exist is, as will be demonstrated in subsequent chapters, generally sketchy, incomplete, and characterized by a lack of scientific procedures. Arturo De Hoyos studied 91 Mexican American males ages 15-18 and grades 8-12 in Lansing, Michigan. He investigated expectation (realistic) levels of occupational and educational aspirations as related to acculturation.[14] Herschel T. Manuel from the University of Texas performed a study of Mexican American and Anglo American boys and girls in grades 9-12. His study dealt briefly with youth's occupational and educational aspirations (ideal) toward college after graduating from high school.[15] In another study of Mexican American status orientations, Celia Heller compared mobility expectations of 165 Mexican American and 1057 Anglo American high school senior boys in Los Angeles.[16] While youth of Negro and Anglo populations have been studied to a greater degree in this regard, the Mexican American youth have been largely neglected by the social scientists.[17]

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[14] Arturo De Hoyos, "Occupational and Educational Levels of Mexican-American Youth" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1961). Refer to Appendix B for findings of previous research.

[15] Herschel T. Manuel, _op_. _cit_., pp. 106-108.

[16] Celia S. Heller, "Ambitions of Mexican-American Youth: Goals and Means of Mobility of High School Seniors" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1963).

The general objective of this thesis is to explore the educational status orientations of Mexican American boys and girls living in low-income rural areas of Texas and to compare these results to those obtained from a similar sample of Anglo American boys and girls.

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[17] See Willaim P. Kuvlesky and George W. Ohlendorf, Occupational Aspirations and Expectations: A Bibliography of Research Literature, Information Report 66-1 (College Station: Texas A&M University, Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, June, 1966); and Goerge W. Ohlendorf and William P. Kuvlesky, A Bibliography of Literature on Status Aspirations and Expectations: Educational, Residence, Income, and Family Orientations, Information Report 66-7 (College Station: Texas A&M University, Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, September, 1966).

CHAPTER II

FRAMEWORK FOR RESEARCH

The conceptual scheme that was used to provide a framework for the analysis of educational status orientations is presented in this chapter.[1] Theory and past research relevant to ethnic differences in status orientations of youth are reviewed and the research objectives of the study are stated.

Status Orientations

In the United States, which has a considerable amount of social mobility, achievement motivation and culturally inculcated value-orientations affect status achievement.[2] Achievement motivation actuates the individual to excel and the value-orientations direct his behavior toward particular high status goals.[3] The idea that individuals maintain status orientations which direct them toward future placement at a particular level in a number of different social structures provides the basis for the conceptual framework used in this thesis.

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[1] Due to the comparative nature of this research, utilization of the relevant conceptual scheme will rely heavily on and be limited to the conceptual framework employed in George W. Ohlendorf, "Educational Orientations of Rural-Youth In Selected Low-Income Counties of Texas" (unpublished Master of Science Thesis, Texas A&M University, May, 1967), Chapter II.

[2] David Gottlieb and Charles Ramsey, The American Adolescent (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, Inc., 1964), pp. 145-146.

[3] Bernard C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and the Achievement Syndromes," American Sociological Review, 24 (February, 1959), pp. 48-60.

Status orientations are delineated into three major components: (1) a person or persons, (2) orientations and (3) social objects (statuses).[4] The first component is self-explanatory, but the second and third components need expounding. However, before proceeding any further, a definition of status orientations is deemed necessary. A status orientation may be defined as a mental concept that directs or channels a person's energies toward a social object having status significance.

The second component, orientations, consists of two major types--aspirations and expectations. Aspirations refer to statuses that are desired, while expectations refer to anticipated status attainment. The importance of this distinction and the bearing it has on empirical research is clearly indicated by Stephenson when he points out that "it is seldom clear in such research whether the stated choice represents an expectation or an aspiration; whether the individual is stating a plan based upon realistic appraisal of his life chances or a more generally held aspiration for life goals in the stratification system."[5] A study by Slocum in the state of Washington indicates that both boys and girls differentiate between aspirations and expectations.[6] Several other studies referred to in Ohlendorf's Negro-white youth study offer further evidence of this distinction.[7]

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[4] For a complete and elaborate explanation of this conceptual scheme refer to William P. Kuvlesky, "The Social-Psychological Dimensions of Occupational Mobility" (paper presented at the National Vocational-Technical Education Seminar on Occupation Mobility and Migration sponsored by the Center for Research Training and Occupational Education, Raleigh, North Carolina State University, April 18-22, 1966); and William P. Kuvlesky and Robert C. Bealer, "A Clarification of the Concept 'Occupational Choice,' "Rural Sociology, 31 (September, 1966), pp. 265-276. Throughout this section, these two studies are heavily employed.

The third component, social objects (statuses), vary in kind and in level. In relation to aspirations, however, "goals can vary in kind and are usually described in reference to a particular social status-attribute (occupation, education, income, residence, and so on)." These are referred to as status areas.[8] Within these status areas a variation can be determined along some predetermined hierarchy of levels of positions. Thus, an object exists at a particular level within a specified status area such as occupation, income, and education.

Aspirations

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[5] Richard M. Stephenson, "Mobility Orientation and Stratification of 1,000 Ninth Graders," American Sociological Review, 22 (April, 1957), p. 205.

[6] Walter L. Slocum, Educational Aspirations and Expectations of Students in Rural Washington High Schools (Pullman: Washington State University, Department of Rural Sociology, December, 1966), pp. 24-25. For additional studies which utilize these two concepts see William P. Kuvlesky and John Pelham, Occupational Status Orientations of Rural Youth: Structured Annotations and Evaluations of the Research Literature, Departmental Information Report 66-3 (College Station: Texas A&M University, September, 1966).

[7] Ohlendorf, op. cit., Chapter III.

[8] Kuvlesky and Bealer, op. cit., p. 270.

Aspiration may be defined as the mental process of a person or persons which serves as channeling of energies toward a status goal. In this sense, aspiration is a special form of the concept "attitude," which is commonly defined as the propensity to behave in a certain way under certain circumstances. The distinction between aspiration and attitude is that the object involved in an aspiration is a goal and therefore is more or less desired by individuals; whereas an attitude may be positively or negatively directed.[9] Hence, an aspiration is a desired future end toward placement in a number of different social structures that have status significance. The aspiration, however, may differ from one social structure to another. The desire of an aspiration may be either strong or weak, depending upon the other status goals that the individual is willing to sacrifice for the attainment of his desired goal. Thus, intensity is the relative strength of desire or the sacrifice willing to be made for the attainment of the goal.[10] This concept is termed intensity of aspiration.

Expectations

The probable attainment in reference to a particular status area is called an expectation, e.g., the educational level an individual realistically expects to attain. The object involved with an expectation is an anticipated occurrence and the individual's orientation toward this expected state may be favorable or unfavorable.[11] The anticipation of an orientation may also be either strong or weak, depending on the level of certainty. Certainty is the relative strength of an orientation toward the attainment of an expectation's social object. This is termed certainty of expectation.

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[9] Archibald O. Haller and Irwin W. Miller, The Occupational Aspiration Scale: Theory, Structure, and Correlates, Technical Bulletin 288 (East Lansing: Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station, 1963), pp. 11-12.

[10] Kuvlesky and Bealer, op. cit., pp. 271-272.

Anticipatory goal deflection

Although aspirations and expectations are conceptually distinguished, they are nevertheless related. The condition of not having congruent aspirations and expectations is known as anticipatory goal deflection.[12] It may either be positive (expectations greater than aspirations) or negative (expectations smaller than aspirations). In addition to varying in nature of deflection, anticipatory goal deflection may also vary in degree, that is, the level of education desired may be the same, higher, or lower than that which is expected.

Ethnic Differences in Status Orientations

In the initial statement on status orientations it was mentioned that achievement motivation actuates an individual to excel and the value-orientations direct his behavior towards high status goals. Although both concepts are vital in the study of status orientations, it is with value-orientations that this study is most concerned.[13] The emphasis on value-orientations is due to the value-orientations' importance in distinguishing cultures and the selective trends that characterize them.[14]

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[11] Kuvlesky and Bealer, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

[12] William P. Kuvlesky and George W. Ohlendorf, "Occupational Status Orientations of Negro Boys: A Rural-Urban Comparison" (paper presented at the Annual meetings of the Rural Sociological Society, Miami Beach, Florida, August, 1966).

According to Parsons and Shils, a value-orientation is a "generalized and organized conception influencing behavior of nature, of man's place in it, of man's relation to man, and of the desirable and non-desirable as they may relate to man-environment and interhuman relations."[15] Cultural patterns are defined by what Parsons terms pattern variables. The pattern variables are dichtomous alternatives of action from which an actor must choose before any situation will have a determinate meaning. According to Parsons, there are five pattern variables: (1) Affectivity vs. Affective-neutrality, (2) Self-orientation vs. Collectivity-orientation, (3) Universalism vs. Particularism, (4) Ascription vs. Achievement, and (5) Specificity vs. Diffuseness.[16] The combinations of pattern variables of Universalistic-Achievement and Particularistic-Ascriptive, according to Parsons, are principle types of social structures. In light of this belief, Parsons asserts that the Spanish-American is characterized by the Particularistic-Ascriptive combination of pattern variables.[17] It is important to note that Parsons does not clarify what is meant by "Spanish-Americans." It may be that he is referring to Spanish people from the South American Continent, people of Spanish surname living in the United States, or both.

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[13] While it is realized that achievement motivation, especially from the viewpoint of strength of status orientations, has significance and relevance to the research problem under consideration, elaboration of this concept is beyond this thesis' scope. Thus, it is suggested as a problem for future conceptual and theoretical development. Of particular relevance is David C. McClelland, *et al.*, *The Achievement Motive* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953).

[14] Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (eds.), *Toward a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1954), p. 412.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 411.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 76-79.

A given value-orientation or some particular aspect of it may be interpreted as imposing a preference or giving a primacy to one of the two alternatives of each pattern variable, depending on the culture. Since the nature of this research involves what are believed to be generally different cultures, the Mexican American and Anglo American, it appears that Parsons' pattern variables are directly relevant to this thesis' objectives. Some differences thought to exist generally between Anglo Americans and Mexican Americans are: language, orientation to time, attitudes toward change, work, efficiency, acceptance and resignation, dependency, and formal organizations. Also, past research indicates that there are differences in political behavior, family structure, and attitudes toward illness.[18]

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[17] Talcott Parsons, The Social System (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1951), p. 199.

[18] See Lyle Saunders, Cultural Difference and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954), pp. 104-140; Arthur Rubel, Across The Tracks: Mexican Americans in a Texas City (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), Chapters 3-7; and Herschel T. Manuel, Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest: Their Education and the Public Welfare (Austin: University of Texas Press, pp. 31-44.

Parsons and Shils explain that in any given social situation, the actor's cultural background will influence his choice between the horns of the dilemma presented by each pattern variable.[19] The pattern variables of Universalism vs. Particularism and/or Ascription vs. Achievement have been used in previous studies to test this hypothesis. Zurcher, Zurcher, and Meadow, in a study of bank employees from the United States and Mexico, found that the Universalism expectation in the United States culture and Particularism expectation of Mexican culture are reflected in the measures of the behavioral intent of otherwise comparable Anglo American and Mexican subjects. The marginal Mexican American, though still influenced by his parent culture, tended to favor the Universalism value-orientation of the United States.[20] In a cross-cultural study of role-expectations, Nall found that Mexican American students were more Universalistic than either the Anglo American or Mexican students.[21]

In the Universalistic-Achievement pattern, the people hold as their primary concern the valuation of a pluralistic and/or individualistic system of goal-achievement through instrumental action. The emphasis is on sphere of occupation and organization and its independence of kinship or narrowly defined community. In contrast, the Particularistic-Ascriptive pattern has as its primary concern the expressive interests and is less concerned with the opportunity to shape the situation through achievement.[22]

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[19] Parsons and Shils, op. cit., pp. 78-79.

[20] Louis A. Zurcher, Jr., Susan Lee Zurcher, and Arnold Meadow, "Value Orientation, Role Conflict, and Alienation from Work: A Cross-cultural Study," American Sociological Review, 30, (August, 1965), pp. 539-548.

[21] Frank C. Nall II, "Role Expectations: A Cross-cultural Study," Rural Sociology, 27 (March, 1962), pp. 28-41.

Another theoretical perspective, but nevertheless directly relevant to the research problem, concerns Robert K. Merton's proposition that inculcation of high success goals of various kinds constitute a patterned characteristic that cuts across subcultural differentiation in our society.[23] The bulk of extensive past research on status aspirations offers support for this contention.[24] While most of this research indicates that significant differences in level of status aspirations exist between significantly differentiated segments of the society, the same data appear to offer strong evidence that all types of youth generally maintain high goals.

In summary then, Parsons' framework would tend to predict significant differences in the educational status orientations of the two ethnic categories, but research testing his theoretical assumptions does not support his inference. Merton's proposition, however, directly contradicts the inference drawn from Parsons' more abstract thesis. It can be inferred from this that on the basis of Parsons' proposition Mexican American youth should demonstrate lower goal levels than Anglo youth but on the basis of Merton's thesis, both Mexican American and Anglo youth should demonstrate similar educational goal levels. Possibly the Parsons-Merton inconsistency could be resolved in part by a measure of strength of desire for a particular achievement type goal. It would seem that according to Parsons' proposition, Mexican American youth would demonstrate weaker levels of intensity than their Anglo counterparts. In reference to Merton, however, intensity levels would be similar and relatively strong for youth of either ethnic type.

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[22] Ibid., pp. 180-200.

[23] Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, enl. and rev. ed. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1951), pp. 132-133.

[24] Ohlendorf, op. cit., p. 87; Angelita S. Obordo, "Status Orientations Toward Family Development: A Racial Comparison of Adolescent Girls from Low-Income Rural Areas" (unpublished Master of Science thesis, Texas A&M University, January, 1968), p. 76; and Bilquis A. Ameen, "Occupational Status Orientations and Perception of Opportunity: A Racial Comparison of Rural Youth from Depressed Areas" (unpublished Master of Science thesis, Texas A&M University, October, 1967), p. 75.

Although there are no known studies directly investigating the Parsons-Merton inconsistency in regard to educational aspirations of Mexican American youth, it does seem possible to use the findings of two studies to provide some evidence on this matter. According to a study of Mexican American-Anglo "college" aspirations done by H. T. Manuel, more Anglo boys and girls desired a "college" education than Mexican American boys and girls.[25] However, of even greater importance, was the substantial proportion of youth of both ethnic types who desired a college education. This finding supports Merton's thesis. Due to a weakness in Parsons' paradigm, it is not possible on the basis of these findings to say that the Mexican American is Particularistic-Ascriptive and the Anglo Universalistic-Achievement.

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[25] H. T. Manuel, op. cit., pp. 106-107.

It may be that both Mexican American and Anglo youth are Particularistic-Ascriptive but that the Mexican American is more so to a greater degree than the Anglo. Likewise, the same argument could be set forth for the Universalistic-Achievement combination.

The other study which might provide further evidence is Celia Heller's study of Los Angeles Mexican American and Anglo boys.[26] Even though Heller's study was concerned with expectations, it could be safely assumed on the basis of past research (which shows that aspirations are generally higher than expectations) that substantially large proportions of youth in her study desired high levels of education. Therefore, as was the case in Manuel's study, Heller's findings also support Merton's thesis of universal goals. Similarly, the same argument presented in Manuel's study in regard to Parsons, can be applied to Heller's findings.

Research Objectives

As previously stated in the introduction, the general research objective of this thesis is to explore the educational status orientations of Mexican American boys and girls living in low-income rural areas of Texas and to compare these results to those obtained from a similar sample of Anglo American boys and girls. The dimensions of status orientations to be investigated are: aspirations, intensity of aspirations, expectations, certainty of expectations, and anticipatory goal deflection. A secondary objective will be to attempt to provide evidence that will clarify the apparent inconsistency between Parsons' and Merton's theories of subcultural differences in orientations toward social achievement and also to ascertain the significance of this thesis' findings for accumulated research knowledge.

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[26] Celia S. Heller, "Ambitions of Mexican-American Youth: Goals and Means of Mobility of High School Seniors" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1963).

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This thesis evolved from and contributes to a larger regional project entitled "Human Resource Development and Mobility in the Rural South." Data on Mexican American youth were obtained through interviews performed in four selected counties in South Texas and comparable data for Anglo American youth were gathered in three East Central Texas counties.[1] The East Central Texas data were reported previously by George W. Ohlendorf.[2] Since data for this thesis were gathered from two separate areas in Texas, a detailed description of the relevant study units is deemed important. Therefore, in addition to presenting the procedures employed, a part of this chapter will be devoted to a description of the study units.

Source of Data

Data were obtained from two separate populations of high school sophomores in a total of seven counties in South and East Central Texas, Figure 1.[3] Information for the South Texas (ST) study was obtained during the spring of 1967 through interviews performed in four selected counties--Dimmit, Maverick, Starr, and Zapata. The criteria for selection of these counties were a high proportion of Mexican Americans, low levels of income as compared to the state of Texas as a whole, a high proportion of rural residents, and a nonmetropolitan area not contiguous to a metropolitan area. The East Central Texas (ECT) data were obtained during the spring of 1966 through interviews performed in the counties of Burleson, Leon- and San Jacinto. The general criteria for selection of study counties in ECT differed from that of the ST study mainly in reference to type of ethnic concentration. The ST study counties had a high proportion of Mexican Americans and extremely small proportions of Negroes and Anglos. On the other hand, the ECT counties had an extremely small proportion of Mexican Americans and larger proportions of Negroes and Anglos.

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[1] The South Texas and East Central Texas studies are sponsored by Southern Regional Projects S-61 and H-2611, respectively, under the auspices of the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station and the Cooperative State Research Service of the United States Department of Agriculture. The general objective of the overall project is to determine the characteristics of and factors involved in the developmental sequences and decision-making processes of people in the rural South during selected stages of the life cycle. Initially, this thesis was going to be concerned only with Mexican American and Anglo American youth from the four South Texas counties. However, due to the extremely small number of Anglo American youth in these four South Texas counties, it was decided to utilize an Anglo American sample from a comparable study in East Central Texas.

[2] George W. Ohlendorf, "Educational Orientations of Rural Youth in

South Texas and East Central Texas Socio-Economic Characteristics

Due to the comparative nature of this study and the fact that the

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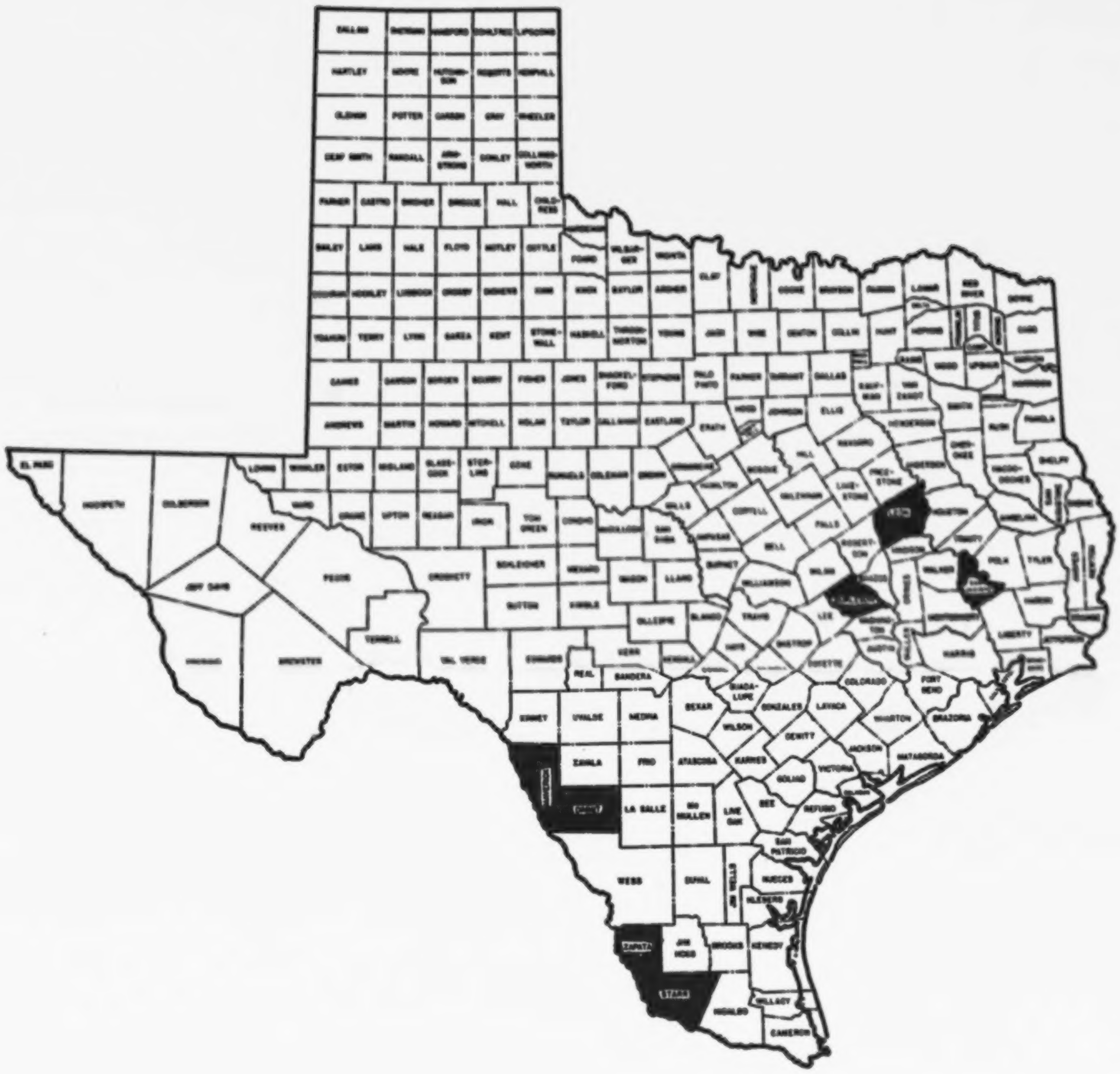
Selected Low-Income Counties in Texas: (unpublished Master of Science thesis, Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Texas A&M University, May, 1967).

[3] High school sophomores were selected for the study because it was felt by the project planners that at this age students have chosen a high school curriculum. In addition, it was believed that most of the potential dropouts would still be in school. However, these assumptions seem questionable. Information on Mexican American school dropouts in the area from which data for this thesis draw, indicates that perhaps a majority of them left school before the tenth grade.

Figure 1. Location of Counties Studied



two ethnic types were derived from different study areas, some knowledge about the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the study counties would be useful in interpreting the significance of the findings. Consequently, a comparison of selected socio-economic factors of Mexican Americans and Anglos are presented, Table 1.

The median family income of all the counties included in both study areas fell below the $3,000 level, a level widely used in the United States as a gross indicator of poverty.[4] Similarly, about two-thirds of the families in all of these counties were in the low-income bracket.

Generally speaking, the total labor force of both the ST and ECT counties did not differ greatly. The proportions engaged in farming were similar in both areas. Likewise, all of the counties had between one-fifth and one-third of their labor force in the unskilled category, except San Jacinto, which had about one-half. All of the counties, except Leon, had less than one-tenth of their total labor force in the skilled labor category, Table 2. As will be evidenced later in this section, these labor characteristics do not necessarily reflect the occupational characteristics of the respondents' parents, although they generally approximate them.

The counties from the ST study had relatively large proportions of rural population, with the exception of Maverick which had most of its

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[4] W. Kennedy Upham and David E. Wright, Poverty Among Spanish Americans in Texas: Low-Income Families in a Minority Group, Departmental Information Report 66-2 (College Station: Texas A&M University, September, 1966), p. 7.

Table 1. Selected Indicators of Socio-Economic Conditions in the South Texas (Mexican American) and East Central Texas (Anglo) Study Counties Compared with Texas and the United States

Place	Total Population (Thousands)	Anglo (Percent)	Mexican Americans (Percent)	Low-Income Families^A (Percent)	Median Family Income	Median School Yrs. Comp.^B
A. South Texas						
Dimmit	10	*	67	60	$2,480	5
Maverick	15	*	78	58	2,523	6
Starr	17	*	89	71	1,700	5
Zapata	4	*	75	66	1,766	5
B. East Texas						
Burleson	11	62	**	59	2,451	8
Leon	10	61	**	67	1,946	9
San Jacinto	6	47	**	69	1,737	7
Texas	9,580	73	14	29	4,884	10
United States	179,323	87	2	21	5,657	11

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 1, United States Summary (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1964), tables 42, 76, 87, and 95; Part 45, Texas (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963), tables 14, 28, 47, 57, 66, 84, 86, and 87; and U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Persons of Spanish Surname, Final Report PC (2)-1B, table 15.

^A Annual incomes below $3,000.

^B By persons 25 years old and over.

*Almost all individuals not classified as Mexican American would be classified Anglo.

**Percent Mexican American is less than one-tenth of one percent. Most individuals not classified as Anglo would be classified as Negro.

Table 2. Selected Labor Force and Place of Residence Characteristics of South and East Central Texas Study Counties

Occupation	ST Counties				ECT Counties		
	Dimmit	Maverick	Starr	Zapata	Burleson	Leon	San Jacinto
Total Labor Force	3,073	3,634	4,458	1,138	3,434	2,978	1,551
Percent:							
Engaged in Farming							
Farmers & Farm Managers	4	4	12	11	22	19	10
Farm Laborers & Farm Foremen	34	15	29	28	14	13	6
Skilled Labor	7	8	7	7	9	11	8
Unskilled Labor							
Operatives & Kindred Workers	18	16	8	9	12	13	18
Private Household Workers	2	4	2	0	4	5	6
Service Workers, Except Private Household	4	7	6	10	8	7	5
Laborers, exc. Farm & Mine	3	6	5	8	4	3	20

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, *U. S. Census of Population: 1960*, Volume 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, Part 45, Texas (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Table 84.

population in Eagle Pass, a city of 12,000 people. On the other hand, all the ECT counties were entirely rural, Table 3.

A majority of the populations of Dimmit, Maverick, Starr, and Zapata counties is of Mexican American descent, and only about one-fourth is Anglo. On the other hand, less than one-tenth of one percent of the population in Burleson, Leon, and San Jacinto counties is of Mexican American descent as compared to an almost two-thirds Anglo population in Burleson and Leon and about one-half in San Jacinto. Another major difference is that the ST study area has practically no Negroes as compared to large proportions of Negroes living in the ECT study area.

Probably the most apparent difference between the ST and ECT counties is in the median school years completed by persons 25 years old and over. The persons from the ECT counties have an average of about three more years of education than those from the ST counties.

The nature of the schools in the two study areas is deserving of brief consideration. Respondents in the East Central Texas Study area came from 23 different high schools, of which one had experienced more than token integration at the time of the study. The size of the sophomore classes in these schools ranged from 5 to 70 students. Seven schools having from 26 to 261 sophomores participated in the ST study. One of these schools had a student body which consisted entirely of Mexican American youth. It is also of importance to note that for both study areas guidance counseling and occupational or job counseling (in the usual sense of the word) either did not exist or was minimal in most of the schools.

Table 3. Place of Residence Characteristics of South Texas and East Central Texas Study Counties

County	Total Population	Places of 2,500 and over %	Places of 1,000 to 2,500 %	Other Rural Territory %
Dimmit	10,095	56	19	25
Maverick	14,508	83	--	17
Starr	17,137	34	17	49
Zapata	4,393	--	46	54
Burleson	11,177	--	30	70
Leon	9,951	--	11	89
San Jacinto	6,153	--	--	100

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 45, Texas (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Table 6.

This thesis is concerned with 596 Mexican Americans from South Texas of whom 290 are males and 306 are females and 274 Anglos from East Central Texas of whom 143 are males and 131 are females, Table 4.

Most of the Mexican American and Anglo students were from families in which both parents were present and whose main breadwinner was the father.[5] Nevertheless, there were differences between the occupations of the Mexican American and Anglo fathers. For the most part, the Mexican Americans held occupations in the areas of farm labor or labor, operatives, and craftsman, and the Anglos held white-collar or skilled occupations. More than a majority of the mothers from both ethnic types did not work.

Probably the most noted difference between the parents of the respondents was in their educational attainment. Although parents from both ethnic types generally had low educational statuses, both Anglo parents had more education than the Mexican American. More than a majority of the Mexican American parents and less than half of the Anglos had less than a high school education. About three times as many Anglo parents as Mexican American had a college education.

As can be seen from this brief discussion, the Anglo students, although not too much better off economically than the Mexican Americans, generally came from families having a higher objectively determined position of social rank.

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[5] For socio-economic characteristics of the Anglo parents, refer to Angelita S. Obordo, "Status Orientations Toward Family Development: A Racial Comparison of Adolescent Girls from Low-Income Rural Areas" (unpublished Master of Science thesis, Texas A&M University, January, 1968), Chapter III and Appendix A.

Table 4. Distribution of Sophomores Enrolled in South Texas and East Central Texas Study Counties at Time of Study

South Texas	Male	Female	Total
Mexican American	290	306	596
Anglo	32	38	70
Negro	2	1	3
Not Present at Time of Interview	--	--	96
TOTAL ENROLLED			765
East Central Texas	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**
Anglo	143	131	274
Negro	96	99	195
American Indians	--	--	11
Discarded Due to Incompleteness	--	--	7
Not Present at Time of Interview	--	--	43
TOTAL ENROLLED			530

Note: The enrollment figures were obtained from the principals of the schools at the time the data were being collected. No attempt was made to contact those sophomores who were absent on the day of the interview.

Collection of Data

Data were obtained by means of collectively administered interviews of sophomores in the participating schools. The students from the ST study received a 12-page questionnaire and those from the ECT study received an 18-page questionnaire.[6] Although the quantities of pages are different, the indicators from both studies utilized in this thesis are almost identical, particularly those relating to educational orientations.[7] This will be demonstrated in a subsequent section of this chapter. After the questionnaires were distributed, the students completed each stimulus question as it was read aloud by the interviewer. Trained graduate students of Anglo American descent conducted the interviews in both the ST and ECT studies.[8] Names and addresses of the respondents were obtained and special precautions were taken to insure that they remained confidential. This was explained to the school authorities and respondents before the questionnaires were administered.

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[6] The questionnaire was pretested during the summer of 1965 by administering it to a sample of Negro and white boys and girls from an East Central Texas county.

[7] Administration of the questionnaire in the ST study required between 35 and 70 minutes and that of the ECT study required between 45 and 60 minutes.

[8] As in most interview situations, not all possible influential factors may be eliminated. The fact that the interviewers were introduced as graduate students from Texas A&M University may have affected the responses concerning educational orientations. In addition, the fact that the interviewers were of Anglo American descent might have affected the educational orientation responses, particularly those from the ST study. However, the same general procedures were followed in all the interviews.

Indicators and Measurements

To facilitate comparative analysis, this thesis will utilize indicators and modes of measurement previously used in a study of Negro-white youth by George W. Ohlendorf.[9] An exception to this will be when modification is required in terms of the original response categories. In this section, an emphasis will be placed on an evaluative comparison of the schedule items used in both studies as well as on the indicators and modes of measurement.

This thesis is concerned only with a small portion of the responses in the questionnaires. Of basic importance, these responses are concerned with educational aspirations, intensity of aspirations, educational expectations, and certainty of expectations. These indicators are excerpted from the questionnaires utilized in the South Texas and East Central Texas studies and are presented together in Appendix C.

Educational aspirations and expectations

Similarly worded fixed-choice stimulus questions were used in both studies to elicit responses indicating the educational goal and expected attainment of the respondent. The stimulus question used to procure goal responses asked the student to indicate the education he would *desire* if he could have it. It was believed that the use of the phrase "could have" and the word "desired" would draw out the respondent's educational goal. The question used for expectation asked the student to indicate the education he *really expected* to attain.

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[9] George W. Ohlendorf, *op*. *cit*.

This question's wording was assumed to reflect the respondent's evaluation of his personal values, abilities, and social situation. The following questions were used to elicit responses on status orientations.

Educational aspirations:

ST: If you could have as much schooling as you desired, which of the following would you do? (Circle only one number.):

1. Quit school right now.
2. Complete high school.
3. Complete a business, commercial, electronics, or some other technical program after finishing high school.
4. Graduate from a junior college (2 years).
5. Graduate from a college or university.
6. Complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university.

ECT: If you could have as much education as you desired and were completely free to choose, which of the following would you do? (Circle only one number.):

1. Quit high school and never go to school again.
2. Quit high school and take some vocational training for a job.
3. Graduate from high school and never go to school again.
4. Graduate from high school and then complete a business, commercial, nurses training, or some other technical school program.
5. Graduate from a junior college.
6. Graduate from a college or university.
7. Complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university.

Educational expectation:

ST: What do you really expect to do about your education? (Circle only one number):

Note: Responses are the same as for the question on aspirations.

ECT: What do you really expect to do about your education? (Circle only one number.):

Note: Responses are the same as for the question on aspirations.

The responses from both studies to the aspiration and expectation questions were coded in terms of a six-level educational hierarchy (plus no information) shown in the ST study. It is of importance to point out that the response alternatives of the two studies are not completely identical, but are very similar. Whereas the ST indicator has six response choices, that of the ECT has seven. For comparative purposes, responses one (Quit high school and never go to school again) and two (Quit high school and take some vocational training for a job) from the ECT indicator were collapsed into one educational level--comparable to choice one (Quit school right now) in the ST indicator. That this was a reasonable decision is evidenced by the fact that Ohlendorf also collapsed these two response choices in the ECT study because the proportion of respondents indicating these alternatives were extremely small.[10] The remainder of the ST indicators is almost identical to those of the ECT study.

Anticipatory goal deflection

Anticipatory goal deflection was determined by comparing the measure of educational goal and educational expectation. If these measures differed, deflection was considered to exist. Negative deflection was judged to exist when the expectation level was lower than the goal level; conversely, positive deflection was indicated when the expectation level was observed to be higher than the aspiration level.

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[10] *Ibid*., p. 42.

In addition to determining the nature of deflection, the "degree" of deflection was determined by the number of level differences involved between goal and anticipated status. To further extend the analysis of anticipatory goal deflection of Mexican American youth, a cross-classification of educational goals with anticipated statuses was performed. By doing this it was possible to determine not only nature and degree of deflection but also proportions of no deflection and deflection for each level of aspiration.

Intensity of aspiration

The relationship of the respondents' educational goals to their other status goals was indicated by a question that asked the respondent to rank order seven status goals believed to be desired by most young people. The educational goal was included among the alternatives. This operation produced a forced self-ranked hierarchy of importance ranging from scores of one through seven. The lower the score, the stronger the intensity of aspiration indicated. For purposes of meaningful interpretation of the findings as well as for comparison of the findings to those found in the ECT study, the raw scores were grouped into the qualitative categories of: strong (1-2), intermediate (3-5), and weak (6-7). The following indicators were used to elicit the intensity of aspiration:

> ST: Listed below are a number of things that most young people look forward to. Rank them in order of their importance to you. For the one you think is most important put a number 1 in front of it; for the next most important one put a number 2; and so on until you have a different number (from 1 to 7) for each one. Read over the entire list before answering the question.

_____ To have lots of free time to do what I want.

_____ To get all the education I want.

Note: The rest of the status goals are in Appendix C.

ECT: Listed below are a number of things that most young people look forward to. Rank them in order of their importance to you. For the one you think is most important check number 1 in front of it; for the next most important one check number 2, and so on until you have a number checked for each one. Read over the entire list before answering the question. (Check only one number beside each statement and check each different number only once.)

Order of Importance to You

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

_ _ _ _ _ _ _ Having lots of free time to do what I want.

_ _ _ _ _ _ _ To develop my mind and get all the education I want.

Note: The rest of the status goal items are given in Appendix C.

It is apparent from comparing the two indicators above that two differences exist. One difference is that the ST study requires writing in the numbers according to the respondent's desired numerical ranking. In the ECT study, this process is accomplished by the respondent merely "checking" the numerical rank already provided. Secondly, the second item in both studies concerning "attainment of all the education wanted by the respondent" differ slightly in their wording. These differences are judged as not being significant enough (in terms of the meaning the stimulus had) to preclude a valid and reliable comparison.

Certainty of expectation

The indicator used for certainty of expectation asked the respondents to indicate how certain they were of achieving their expected education. In both studies a forced-choice instrument using a Likert-type scale was utilized. Listed below are the instruments used in each study:

ST: How certain are you that you will really achieve the education you expect? I am: (Circle one number.)

1	2	3	4	5
Very Certain	Certain	Not very Certain	Uncertain	Very Uncertain

****

ECT: How sure are you that you will really achieve the education you expect? I am (circle one number.)

1	2	3	4	5
Very Sure	Sure	Not very Sure	Uncertain	Very Uncertain

As can be readily observed from a comparison of the above indicators, the only difference lies in the inconsistent use of the term "sure" in the ECT instrument. It is believed, however, that this difference does not contribute to differences in validity and reliability between the two indicators, especially since both terms invoke essentially the same meaning, i.e., confidence of something expected. For purposes of analysis, the "uncertain" and "very uncertain" choices in both studies were collapsed into one category because of the low frequency of the "very uncertain" choice.

Ethnic identity of individual respondents was determined through the use of the following indicators:

ST: What is your race? (Circle one number):

1 White 2 Negro 3 Oriental 4 Indian 5 Other

Are you of Spanish-American ancestry? (Circle one number):

1 Yes 2 No

ECT: What is your race? (Circle one number):

1	2	3	4
American Indian	Oriental	Negro	Caucasian (white)

Are you of Spanish-American origin? (Circle one number):

1 Yes 2 No

In addition to the above indicators, Mexican American identity in the ST study was further verified by the use of questions on language usage and birthplace of respondents' parents. Anglo identity in the ECT study was established only by the use of the instrument shown above. Although a question on Spanish American relationship was included in the interview, none of the ECT respondents indicated such identity.

Data Processing and Statistical Procedures

Information on the questionnaires from both studies was coded and subsequently recorded on Fortran programming forms. A ten percent sample of the questionnaires from the ST study was checked against the Fortran forms and an error of less than one percent was revealed. The data were transferred onto Hollerith cards which were key verified and had an error rate of less than one percent. In the case of the ECT study, a random check of the forms and cards revealed an error rate of less than one percent.[11] Facilities of the Texas A&M University Data Processing Center were used to develop frequency and percentage distribution tables for analysis.

This thesis is concerned with describing Mexican American and Anglo differences by sex on the variables of educational status orientations, the orientation elements, and anticipatory goal deflection. Since there are two ethnic types and several categories of educational status orientations and orientation elements, the chi-square test was selected as the most suitable method of analyzing the data. This test is used to evaluate whether or not empirically obtained frequencies differ significantly from those which would be expected theoretically.[12] The .05 level of probability was utilized to determine if the observed relationships were statistically significant. Since only a small number of cells in the contingency table have expected frequencies of five or smaller, corrections for continuity were not computed.[13]

Framework for Analysis

Utilizing the conceptual scheme outlined in Chapter II and operationalized in this chapter, the analysis will attempt to ascertain the educational status orientations of Mexican American youth. Furthermore, it will attempt to ascertain what relationships exist between Mexican

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[11] Ibid., p. 45.

[12] Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., Social Statistics (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1960), p. 212.

[13] Ibid., pp. 220-221.

American and Anglo youth on the following dimensions of educational status orientations:

- A. Aspirations
  - 1. Goal levels
  - 2. Intensity of aspiration

- B. Expectations
  - 1. Anticipated levels
  - 2. Certainty of expectations

- C. Anticipatory goal deflection
  - 1. Nature of deflection
  - 2. Degree of deflection

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS: MEXICAN AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL STATUS ORIENTATIONS

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the educational status orientations of Mexican American boys and girls studied. Findings are presented in accordance with the guide line for analysis presented in the preceding chapter.

Educational Aspirations

Desired levels

Although statistically significant differences were found between the Mexican American boys and girls, surprising similarities existed between them, Table 5. A majority of the males and an almost identical proportion of females desired either to graduate from a college or university or complete graduate studies. Almost one-fifth of the males and about as many females aspired to graduate from high school; however, a greater proportion of the males than the females aspired to take vocational training after graduating from high school. Another important similarity was that proportionately none of either sex desired to quit school. Despite these major and important similarities, the two sex categories differed in that twice as many females as males desired a junior college education. Thus it seems, that the educational goals of these youth were similarly high, particularly when the socio-economic background is taken into consideration. Furthermore, it is of significance that the girls had as high, and in

Table 5. Educational Aspirations of Mexican American Youth

Educational Level	Males (N=290) %	Females (N=306) %	Both Sexes (N=596) %
No Information*	1	0	1
Quit high school	0	0	0
Graduate from High School	19	21	20
Graduate from High School and take Vocational Training	19	12	16
Graduate from A Junior College	8	16	12
Graduate from A College or University	32	30	31
Complete Graduate Study	21	21	20
TOTAL	100	100	100

*"No Information" not included in Chi-square tabulations.

$X^2 = 13.24$ D.F. = 5 $P > .02 < .05$

some cases higher, educational aspirations than the boys. This would be especially true when the traditional cultural characteristic of woman suffrage believed to exist among Mexican Americans is considered. These findings might indicate a change in attitudes.

Intensity of aspirations

A vast majority of the Mexican American boys and girls maintained strong desires for their educational goals, Table 6. Although approximately analogous proportions of boys and girls demonstrated intermediate desires for their educational goals, almost twice as many boys as girls responded in the weak category. However, the proportions of all youth who had intermediate and weak levels of intensity were relatively small. The results on strength of desire seem to add more to the significance of the educational goal findings. This is especially true since the aspirations of Mexican American boys and girls are generally high. These findings, when combined, demonstrate not only cognizance of high success goals but also strong feelings for such goals.

Educational Expectations

Anticipated levels

The educational expectations of Mexican American boys and girls were found to be even more alike than their aspirations, Table 7. This is clearly demonstrated by a comparison of the chi-square values on the two variables. As was the case for goals, similar sex profiles

Table 6. Intensity of Educational Aspirations of Mexican American Youth

Intensity	Males (N=290) %	Females (N=306) %	Both Sexes (N=596) %
No Information*	1	0	0
Strong	84	89	87
Intermediate	10	8	9
Weak	5	3	4
TOTAL	100	100	100

*"No Information" not included in Chi-square tabulations.

$X^2 = 3.27$ D.F. = 2 $P > .10 < .20$

Table 7. Educational Expectations of Mexican American Youth

Educational Level	Males (N=290) %	Females (N=306) %	Both Sexes (N=596) %
No Information*	0	0	0
Quit High School	0	1	1
Graduate from High School	31	31	31
Graduate from High School & Take Vocational Training	19	17	18
Graduate from a Junior College	11	14	13
Graduate from a College or University	30	29	29
Complete Graduate Study	9	8	8
TOTAL	100	100	100

*"No Information" not included in Chi-square tabulations.

$X^2 = 2.23$ D.F. = 5 $P > .80 < .90$

were also found for anticipated statuses: the largest proportion of both sex categories expected a college or university degree, almost none anticipated quitting school, approximately one-third of the males and an identical proportion of females expected to graduate from high school, and almost identical proportions of each sex anticipated either taking vocational training after high school or graduating from a junior college.

The major difference in the expectation profile as compared with aspirations appears to stem from a marked decrease for both sex categories in the proportions expecting graduate degrees. Whereas more than one-fifth of the males and females aspired to this level of education, only about half of these expected to attain graduate degrees. While a decrease was observed at the graduate level of education, an increase was noted in the proportion of youth who aspired to graduate from high school to those who anticipated doing so: one-fifth of all youth desired this level of education and about one-third expected it.

Although expectations were observed to be generally lower than aspirations, youth of both sexes still anticipated relatively high educational levels. The findings reported in this analysis demonstrate that Mexican American girls' views on high success goals are as high as among Mexican American boys.

Certainty of expectations

The Mexican American male-female similarities which were found in the youth's anticipated statuses were also observed in the degree of certainty associated with their anticipated attainment. These results did not indicate differences which were judged to be statistically significant, Table 8. About half of the girls and like proportions of boys felt very certain or certain about the education they expected to get and relatively few of either sex felt uncertain. Of noted significance, and an observation that should be of concern to educational administrators, was the large proportion of boys and girls that was not very certain about the anticipated educational level. The significance of this finding seems to be amplified when the findings on intensity of aspirations are considered: more than four-fifths of youth from both sex categories expressed strong desires for their educational goals. It is possible that the low occupational standing along with the low educational attainment of the respondents' parents might offer an explanation for the large proportion of youth who were not very certain of their educational expectations.

Anticipatory Goal Deflection

Nature of deflection

As is already apparent from the aggregate analysis, some incongruency between aspirations and expectations exists among the respondents. However, the pattern similarities found between youth of both sexes in reference to the aspired educational levels were also noted for expectations even after goal deflection occurred. Furthermore, the patterns of anticipatory goal deflection which occurred among the males also occurred among the females, Table 9. More than a

Table 8. Certainty of Educational Expectations of Mexican American Youth

Certainty	Males (N=290) %	Females (N=306) %	Both Sexes (N=596) %
No Information*	1	1	1
Very Certain	10	13	12
Certain	39	37	37
Not Very Certain	45	44	45
Uncertain	5	5	5
TOTAL	100	100	100

*"No Information" not included in Chi-square tabulations.

$X^2 = 1.42$ D.F. = 3 $P > .70 < .80$

Table 9. Anticipatory Deflection From Educational Aspirations of Mexican American Youth

Nature of Deflection	Males (N=290) %	Females (N=306) %	Both Sexes (N=596) %
No Information*	1	1	1
None	59	62	61
Positive	9	5	7
Negative	31	32	31
TOTAL	100	100	100

*"No Information" not included in Chi-square tabulations.

$X^2 = 4.44$ D.F. = 2 $P > .10 < .20$

clear majority of the females and a like proportion of males did not experience anticipatory goal deflection. When goal deflection was observed, it was, for the most part, negative for both sex categories; meaning that their aspirations were higher than their expectations. Only about one in ten boys and half this proportion of girls were positively deflected.

Degree of deflection

The deflection of Mexican American males and females was usually within one degree positive or negative, Table 10. The major difference between males and females was that three times as many males as females were deflected one degree positive. On the other hand, almost identical proportions of males and females were deflected one degree negative. The major difference between the positive and negative categories was the greater proportion of males and females that was deflected two, three, and four degrees negative than was two, three, and four degrees positive.

Patterns of consistency

As can be seen clearly from an inspection of Table 11, most of the deflection which took place in Mexican American males and females was usually negative. A common male-female pattern of deflection is that, in most cases, those deflected from the third level of education or higher tended to fall back to the high school graduate level of education (2). An exception to this pattern lies among those who aspire to complete graduate studies. The deflection which occurred

Table 10. Nature and Degree of Anticipatory Deflection From Educational Aspirations of Mexican American Youth

Deflection	Males (N=290) %	Females (N=306) %	Both Sexes (N=596) %
No Information	1	1	1
None	59	62	61
Positive			
+1	6	2	5
+2	2	1	1
+3	1	1	1
+4	0	1	0
+5	0	0	0
Negative			
-1	16	15	15
-2	6	8	7
-3	4	5	5
-4	5	4	4
-5	0	0	0
TOTAL	100	100	100

Table 11. Patterns of Consistency of Mexican American Males and Females

Goal	Males (N=288)							Females (N=304)						
		Expectations - Percentage							Expectations - Percentage					
	No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	No.	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	1	$\boxed{100}$	0	0	0	0	0	0	$\boxed{0}$	0	0	0	0	0
2	54	0	$\boxed{80}$	13	5	2	0	64	3	$\boxed{77}$	9	3	5	3
3	56	0	25	$\boxed{61}$	9	3	2	37	0	19	$\boxed{78}$	0	3	0
4	25	0	32	12	$\boxed{52}$	4	0	49	0	29	4	$\boxed{65}$	2	0
5	92	0	10	6	9	$\boxed{67}$	8	92	0	14	11	11	$\boxed{64}$	0
6	60	0	23	7	5	35	$\boxed{30}$	62	0	19	0	6	39	$\boxed{36}$

Note: Figures in boxes indicate percentage of each category not experiencing anticipatory goal deflection. For each goal category figures to the right of the box represent positive deflection and those on the left represent negative deflection.

1. Quit high school
2. Graduate from high school
3. Graduate from high school and take vocational training
4. Graduate from a junior college
5. Graduate from a college or university
6. Complete graduate study

at this level of education for males and females was mostly to the high school graduate (2) and college or university (5) levels of education, the latter level receiving more of the deflected students. The largest consistent finding for students of both sexes was in those who aspired and expected to graduate from high school: four-fifths of the males and a similar proportion of females who desired to graduate from high school expected doing so. In conclusion, the findings indicate that the higher the goal level the more probable deflection.

Summary

Results on educational aspirations revealed that although statistically significant differences between Mexican American boys and girls existed, surprising similarities prevailed between them. A majority of both held high educational goals and none of either sex desired to quit high school. The most noted difference between the sex categories was at the junior college level of education where proportionately twice as many females as males aspired to this goal level. In reference to the orientation element, a vast majority of boys and girls maintained strong desires for their educational goals.

In general, the findings on expectations were somewhat lower than aspirations, but youth of both sexes still anticipated relatively high educational levels. The male-female similarity profiles observed on aspirations were even clearer on expectations. More than two-thirds of all youth expected some type of formal education after graduating from high school and of these the largest proportion expected a college or university degree. One-half of the females and males expressed doubt of attaining their anticipated educational levels.

In spite of the more than four-fifths of youth from both sex categories that expressed strong desires for their educational goals, a clear majority of them experienced goal deflection. Deflection for both sex types was mostly negative and within one degree negative or positive. Generally, the higher the goal level desired, the more deflection that occurred.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS: EDUCATIONAL STATUS ORIENTATIONS OF MEXICAN AMERICAN AND ANGLO AMERICAN BOYS AND GIRLS

The preceding analysis was concerned with educational status orientations held by Mexican American boys and girls. This one extends the analysis of the thesis by providing a comparison of the educational status orientations held by Mexican American and Anglo American boys and girls utilizing the same structured presentation of the previous chapter.

Educational Aspirations

Desired levels

Although differences in the educational goal profiles of Mexican American and Anglo boys were observed to be statistically significant, the general nature of the distribution of respondents over the various goal alternatives resulted in similar configurations, Table 12. Very few or none of either ethnic type intended to quit high school. Roughly the same proportion (about one-fifth) of Mexican American and Anglo boys desired to attain additional vocational training upon completion of high school and like proportions (about one-tenth) desired to graduate from a junior college. The highest single proportion of both ethnic categories desiring a particular goal level was found to want a degree from a four-year college or university. A similarly high

Table 12. Educational Aspirations of Youth by Ethnicity and Sex

Educational Level	Males^1		Females^2		All Respondents^3	
	MA %	Anglo %	MA %	Anglo %	MA %	Anglo %
No Information*	1	0	0	0	1	0
Quit High School	0	4	0	1	0	3
Graduate from High School	19	10	21	6	20	8
Graduate from High School & take Vocational Training	19	18	12	46	16	31
Graduate from a Junior College	8	9	16	9	12	9
Graduate from a College or University	32	42	30	24	31	24
Complete Graduate Study	21	17	21	14	20	15
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100

*"No Information" not included in Chi-square tabulations.

$^1X^2 = 17.22$, D.F. = 5, $P > .001 < .01$

$^2X^2 = 68.05$, D.F. = 5, $P < .001$

$^3X^2 = 55.60$, D.F. = 5, $P < .001$

proportion of both types (about one-fifth) desired to receive graduate degrees. The principle differences between the two ethnic types evolved around only two attainment levels: "high school graduate" and "college or university graduate." Twice as many Mexican American students than their Anglo counterparts desired to terminate formal education with completion of high school. This difference is off-set to some extent by the fact that four percent of the Anglo boys as compared with none of the Mexican Americans wanted to drop out of high school before graduation. The only other major difference was that noticeably more of the Anglo youth than Mexican American wanted to graduate from a four-year college (42 percent as compared with 32 percent, respectively). Again, this particular categorical difference was partially off-set by the surprising finding that noticeably more of the Mexican American boys desired graduate degrees.

Unlike the general nature of the findings on Mexican American and Anglo boys which resulted in similar configurations over the various goal alternatives, those of Mexican American and Anglo girls were more different than alike. A comparison of the respective chi-square values in Table 12 clearly indicates that the statistical differences were much larger for girls than for boys. Although more than three-fourths of girls from both ethnic types desired some type of formal education after completing high school, distinct differences were observed at all educational goal levels. More Mexican American girls than Anglo desired a college or university education. This difference at the high educational category is made even clearer when it is considered that one-third more of the Mexican American girls than Anglo desired to complete graduate studies. The largest proportion of Anglo girls, and incidentally the smallest Mexican American proportion, aspired to vocational training after graduating from high school. Almost four times as many Mexican American as Anglo girls desired to stop their education after graduating from high school and approximately twice as many Mexican American than Anglo aspired to a junior college education.

The general nature of the findings indicate that Mexican American youth more frequently had high level goals and Anglo youth more frequently held intermediate level aspirations. On the other hand, more Mexican American youth than Anglo desired to stop their education after completing high school. This was partially off-set by the fact that more Anglo youth, although not a significantly large proportion, aspired to quit high school. Relatively clearer differences were observed among the girls of both ethnic types than were noted for boys.

Intensity of aspirations

A vast majority of both ethnic types maintained strong desires for their educational aspirations. Although it was observed that Mexican American and Anglo boys did not differ markedly in reference to the status goal level element of aspirations, a rather marked difference was noted on the strength of desire associated with their educational goals. An inspection of Table 13 shows that Mexican American boys more frequently maintained a stronger intensity of desire for their goals than Anglo boys. Twice as many Anglo boys as compared with the other ethnic type demonstrated both intermediate

Table 13. Intensity of Educational Aspirations by Ethnicity and Sex

Intensity	Males[1]		Females[2]		All Respondents[3]	
	MA %	Anglo %	MA %	Anglo %	MA %	Anglo %
No Information*	1	0	0	0	0	0
Strong	84	69	89	81	87	75
Intermediate	10	20	8	13	9	16
Weak	5	11	3	6	4	9
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100

*"No Information" not included in Chi-square tabulations.

$^{1}X^{2} = 14.90$, D.F. = 2, $P < .001$

$^{2}X^{2} = 5.97$, D.F. = 2, $P > .10 < .20$

$^{3}X^{2} = 21.07$, D.F. = 2, $P < .001$

and weak levels of intensity of aspiration.

In contrast to the Mexican American and Anglo male findings on intensity of aspirations, those of the females tended to be more alike than divergent. More than four-fifths of the girls from either ethnic type expressed strong desires for their educational goals. The divergence between the girls at the intermediate and weak levels of intensity was not as great as it was for boys. These results have added significance when it is considered that Mexican American girls generally had higher educational goals than the Anglo.

Generally speaking, a substantially large proportion of youth from both ethnic types had strong intensity of aspiration levels. However, it should be noted that Mexican American youth had significantly larger proportions at this level of intensity than did Anglos and consequently had lesser proportions at the intermediate and weak levels of intensity.

Educational Expectations

Anticipated levels

Mexican American and Anglo male profiles of anticipated status attainment diverged to a greater extent than was observed in reference to aspirations--a comparison of the respective chi-square values presented with Tables 12 and 14 clearly shows this divergence. In relation to some particular expectation categories, the ethnic profiles remain very similar to what has already been observed for goals. The largest proportion of Mexican American and Anglo boys expected a college

Table 14. Educational Expectations of Youth by Ethnicity and Sex

Educational Level	Males[1]		Females[2]		All Respondents[3]	
	MA %	Anglo %	MA %	Anglo %	MA %	Anglo %
No Information*	0	0	0	0	0	0
Quit High School	0	4	1	1	1	2
Graduate from High School	31	16	31	12	31	14
Graduate from High School & take Vocational Training	19	24	17	50	18	37
Graduate from a Junior College	11	7	14	8	13	8
Graduate from a College or University	30	42	29	21	29	32
Complete Graduate Study	9	7	8	8	8	7
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100

*"No Infromation" not included in Chi-square tabulations.

$^{1}X^{2} = 22.39$, D.F. = 5, $P < .001$

$^{2}X^{2} = 56.96$, D.F. = 5, $P < .001$

$^{3}X^{2} = 60.02$, D.F. = 5, $P < .001$

or university degree and very few anticipated quitting school before high school graduation. A substantial proportion of both groups anticipated vocational training after leaving high school and only small numbers expected to graduate from junior college.

Major differences between expectation and goal findings stem from a marked decrease for both ethnic types in the proportion of youth from both ethnic types expecting graduate degrees. A little less than one-tenth of either Mexican Americans or Anglos expected this level of education, however, it is interesting to note that as was the case for goals, a slightly larger proportion of Mexican American expected to attain graduate degrees. Just as was noted for aspirations, the major categorical differences in educational expectations centered on graduation from a four-year college and from high school. The proportional differences between the two ethnic categories in reference to graduation from college remained about the same as was previously observed. However, the ethnic differences increased markedly in reference to the high school graduate category: almost one-third of the Mexican Americans expected to terminate their education at this level as compared with half as many Anglos. Although the ethnic differences were very small, the two types differed more on the high school plus vocational training levels of expectations.

Whereas greater Mexican American-Anglo male differences were noted for expectations than aspirations, just the opposite finding was observed for females. A Mexican American-Anglo female comparison of chi-square values in Tables 12 and 14 demonstrate that greater female differences were found in reference to aspirations than for expectations.

Slightly more than two-thirds of the Mexican American girls anticipated some type of formal education after completing high school as contrasted to more than four-fifths of the Anglos. This gross over-simplification, nevertheless, does not account for distinct differences found at most levels of education. Similar to the findings on aspirations, The larger proportion of Mexican American girls anticipated either a four-year college or university education or completing graduate studies. It is interesting to note that more Mexican American girls than Anglos expected a college or university degree. On the other hand, the larger proportion of Anglo girls, which was about three times as large as that of Mexican Americans, expected vocational training after completing high school. Expectations for junior college level of education remained practically the same as were previously noted for aspirations.

In contrast to the above divergencies, the ethnic groups were observed to be identical in the proportion of respondents located at the extremes of the expectation hierarchy: one percent of the girls from either ethnic type expected to quit high school and less than ten percent of either type anticipated a graduate degree.

Major differences in the girls' expectation findings as compared with those of aspirations appear to stem from a marked decrease for both ethnic types in the proportion anticipating graduate degrees. At the other extreme of the educational hierarchy, significant proportional increases were observed for Mexican American girls as well as those from the other ethnic type who expected only a high school education. These two findings were also observed in boys' aspirations and expectations.

Certainty of expectations

While rather marked differences existed between the two ethnic types in reference to boys' intensity of aspirations, a comparison of certainty associated with the anticipated attainment did not produce differences that can be judged significant statistically, Table 15. About half of the Mexican Americans and two-thirds of the Anglo boys felt either certain or very certain about the education they expected to get and relatively few of either grouping felt uncertain. The most noteworthy categorical difference existed in reference to the intermediate level, not very certain, where a larger percentage of Mexican American (45 percent) as compared with Anglo youth (32 percent) was clustered. These findings tend to suggest that Anglo youth may feel slightly more certain about achieving the education they anticipate. It is deemed important, however, not to disregard the fact that a significantly large proportion of youth from both ethnic types were not very certain of their future educational statuses.

Considering the higher educational expectations of Mexican American girls as compared to those of the Anglo, the findings on degree of certainty were surprising, Table 15. Among Mexican American girls, only one-half was either very certain or certain about attaining their educational levels as compared to almost two-thirds of the Anglo. In spite of the substantially large proportion of youth that was relatively certain of their expected statuses, a substantially large proportion of girls from both ethnic types felt relatively unsure of their educational

Table 15. Certainty of Educational Expectations of Youth by Ethnicity and Sex

Certainty	Males[1]		Females[2]		All Respondents[3]	
	MA %	Anglo %	MA %	Anglo %	MA %	Anglo %
No Information*	1	0	1	0	1	0
Very Certain	10	16	13	30	12	22
Certain	39	46	37	33	37	40
Not Very Certain	45	32	44	36	45	34
Uncertain	5	6	5	1	5	4
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100

*"No Information" not included in Chi-square tabulations.

$^{1}X^{2} = 7.74$, D.F. = 3, $P > .05 < .10$

$^{2}X^{2} = 19.21$, D.F. = 3, $P < .001$

$^{3}X^{2} = 20.38$, D.F. = 3, $P < .001$

future.

Anticipatory Goal Deflection

Nature of deflection

As might be anticipated from the aggregate aspiration and expectation comparison remarked earlier, examination of individually determined anticipatory goal deflection revealed a marked difference in the frequency with which the incongruency occurred among the Mexican American and Anglo boys, Table 16. Even though a clear majority of both ethnic types did not experience deflection, a substantially higher proportion of Mexican Americans demonstrated both positive and negative deflection. When goal deflection was observed, it was predominantly negative for both ethnic categories: meaning that the anticipated educational attainment was at least one level below that which was desired. Approximately one out of ten Mexican American boys experienced positive goal deflection as compared with half as many Anglo boys. Similarly, almost one-third of the Mexican American boys demonstrated negative deflection from their specified goals as compared with less than a fourth of their Anglo counterparts. The substantially greater rate of anticipatory goal deflection experienced by the Mexican American is of particular significance when it is considered in conjunction with the observation that they generally demonstrated a higher level of intensity of desire for their goals than the Anglo youth. One could infer from this that deflection, particularly negative, would be generally of greater consequence to the Mexican American.

Table 16. Anticipatory Deflection from Educational Aspirations by Ethnicity and Sex

Nature of Deflection	Males[1]		Females[2]		All Respondents[3]	
	MA %	Anglo %	MA %	Anglo %	MA %	Anglo %
No Information*	1	0	1	0	1	0
None	59	73	62	77	61	75
Positive	9	4	5	1	7	2
Negative	31	23	32	22	31	23
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100

*"No Information" not included in Chi-square tabulations.

$^{1}X^{2}$ = 8.25, D.F. = 2, $P > .01 < .02$

$^{2}X^{2}$ = 10.32, D.F. = 2, $P > .001 < .01$

$^{3}X^{2}$ = 17.57, D.F. = 2, $P < .001$

For the most part, the same explanation given in reference to boys' frequency of anticipatory goal deflection can also be applied to the members of the opposite sex as well as to an overall ethnic comparison. Possibly the only profile difference lies in the smaller porportion of girls than boys from either ethnic category that was positively deflected.

Degree of deflection

An examination of the degree of positive and negative deflection experienced by Mexican American and Anglo youth of both sexes clearly demonstrates that most respondents were deflected to educational expectations either one level higher or lower than their goal, Table 17. Similarities in degree of deflection within the male-female categories as well as on an ethnic basis by far outnumbered the differences. The only noticeable difference was that proportionately more Mexican American youth than Anglo experienced as much as four degrees of negative goal deflection.

Summary

Although substantially large proportions of Mexican American boys desired a four-year college level of education, Anglo boys had a slight tendency to more frequently desire this level of education. Slightly more Mexican American than Anglo boys, however, desired a post-college education. Similarly, large proportions of girls from both ethnic types aspired to high educational goals but unlike the findings on boys, the Mexican American girls tended to have higher educational

Table 17. Nature and Degree of Anticipatory Deflection from Educational Aspirations of Youth by Ethnicity and Sex

Nature and Degree of Deflection	Males		Females		All Respondents	
	MA %	Anglo %	MA %	Anglo %	MA %	Anglo %
No Information	1	0	1	0	1	0
None	59	73	62	77	61	75
Positive						
+1	6	3	2	1	5	2
+2	2	1	1	0	1	1
+3	1	0	1	0	1	0
+4	0	0	1	0	0	0
+5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Negative						
-1	16	12	15	13	15	12
-2	6	4	8	6	7	5
-3	4	6	5	3	5	5
-4	5	1	4	0	4	0
-5	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100

aspirations than their Anglo counterparts. Whereas similarities generally characterized the findings of males, differences were more prevalent in reference to girls. Strength of desire was stronger among Mexican American boys than Anglos. Among the girls, intensities of aspirations were more similar than divergent. Equally important was the fact that members of both ethnic-sex categories maintained generally strong intensities of aspirations.

Anglo boys were inclined to have higher educational expectations more frequently than their Mexican American counterparts. In contrast to the male findings, Mexican American girls (as was also observed for aspirations) tended to anticipate higher educational levels more frequently than girls from the other ethnic type. Of importance was the large proportion of members from both ethnic types that anticipated a four-year or graduate degree. Most encouraging were the relatively minute proportions of youth from either ethnic-sex category that were deflected to the high school dropout level. Generally speaking, Anglo boys and girls were more certain of their anticipated statuses than boys and girls of Mexican American descent. Nevertheless, the relatively large proportions of Mexican American and Anglo youth that were unsure of their educational expectations present an area which is deemed of concern.

In spite of the fact that Mexican American boys and girls had greater intensities of aspirations than Anglo youth, the Mexican American youth experienced more anticipatory goal deflection. Deflection for both ethnic types and for members of either sex was usually negative and within one degree negative or positive. A major similarity between the ethnic-sex types was that a clear majority of youth did not experience goal deflection.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

Summary

The general objective of this thesis was to ascertain the educational status orientations of Mexican American boys and girls living in economically depressed areas of Texas and to compare these results to those from a similar sample of Anglo American boys and girls. A secondary objective was to ascertain the significance of these findings for relevant theory and accumulated research knowledge.

The proposition that culturally inculcated value-orientations structure motivations that affect status achievement, particularly that related to social mobility, provided the bases for the theoretical framework used to guide the analysis. The primary conceptual focus of this effort revolved around the concept of "status orientation" which refers to mental phenomena that direct a person's energies toward the attainment of a particular social status object (in this case, education) within a system of social structures.

A recently developed multi-dimensional paradigm constructed by Kuvlesky and Bealer was utilized to delineate variables for investigation. Two major analytical distinctions were involved in this framework. The first of these involved a distinction between aspirations--the desire of the individual for attainment of a particular status object (goal) and expectations--the anticipation of attaining a particular status, whether or not it was desired. The potential divergence or lack of congruity between the two status objects, termed anticipatory goal deflection, also presented another dimension for analysis. The second analytical distinction referred to the strength or intensity of the person's orientation toward the status object involved in either aspirations or expectations and was labeled the orientation element. In reference to aspirations this was called intensity of aspirations. The comparable element for anticipated status was called certainty of expectations.

From a theoretical perspective, there were several theses that produced contradictory inferences in terms of expected differences in the educational status orientations held by Mexican American and Anglo youth. An inference that predicted significant differences in the educational status orientations of the two ethnic types was drawn from Parsons' Universalism vs. Particularism framework. Although one study indirectly supported Parsons' inference, others directly testing his theoretical assumptions did not. Also contradicting Parsons' inference is Merton's thesis that inculcation of high success goals exists as a general pattern among differentiated segments of American society. In this thesis, an attempt was made to clarify this theoretical inconsistency.

The analysis of this thesis attempted to ascertain the educational status orientations of Mexican American youth living in economically depressed areas of Texas and compare their results to those from a similar sample of Anglo youth. The following dimensions of educational status orientations were explored in this manner:

A. Aspirations
    1. Goal levels
    2. Intensity of aspirations

B. Expectations
    1. Anticipated levels
    2. Certainty of expectations

C. Anticipatory goal deflection
    1. Nature of deflection
    2. Degree of deflection

Data for this thesis were obtained from high school sophomores in two selected study areas of Texas. Information on Mexican American respondents was gathered during the spring of 1967 from 290 boys and 306 girls in four predominantly rural, nonmetropolitan counties in South Texas. Comparable information on 143 Anglo boys and 131 Anglo girls was obtained during the spring of 1966 from three all-rural East Central Texas counties.

Summarized findings reported in Table 18 show that no statistically significant differences were found between boys and girls for the variables of intensity of aspirations, expectations, certainty of expectations, and anticipatory goal deflection. Similar and generally high educational goals were demonstrated by Mexican American boys and girls and the vast majority of them maintained strong desires for their aspirations. Large proportions of boys and girls desired a four-year college education or higher and none desired to drop out of school. In regards to anticipated status attainment, the expected educational levels were somewhat lower than those of aspirations.

In spite of this finding, youth of either sex still anticipated relatively high educational levels. Just as was the case for aspirations, the larger proportion of Mexican American boys and girls

Table 18. Description of Status Orientation Relationships and Summary of Chi-Square Significance for Mexican American Boys and Girls

Table	Dimension	P at .05*	Nature of Boy-Girl Differences
5	Aspiration	S	Similar
6	Intensity of Aspiration	NS	None
7	Expectation	NS	None
8	Certainty of Expectation	NS	None
9	Anticipatory Deflection	NS	None

*Chi-Square test for Mexican American boys and girls.

expected a four-year college education or higher and almost none expected to drop out of school. Although the orientation element pertaining to aspirations was found to be strong for members of both sexes, the expectations' orientation element revealed that remarkably similar proportions of boys and girls were relatively certain about attaining their anticipated educational status and about equal proportions were relatively uncertain. A majority of the Mexican American boys and girls was not deflected and what deflection did occur was mostly negative.

Table 19 presents a summary of Chi-square significance and Mexican American-Anglo status orientation relationships. The findings for educational aspirations of Mexican American youth were similar to those observed for Anglo youth in that members from either ethnic-sex category maintained relatively high educational goals. However, Anglo boys tended to have slightly higher aspirations than boys of Mexican American descent. In contrast, Mexican American girls were found to more frequently desire high levels of education than their Anglo counterparts. Intensity of aspirations were generally strong for the vast majority of youth from either ethnic-sex type. Equally important was the finding that larger proportions of Mexican American boys than Anglo indicated a strong intensity of desire, whereas similar proportions of Mexican American and Anglo girls demonstrated this level of intensity.

With the exception of the Anglo girls, the largest proportion of Mexican American and Anglo boys and Mexican American girls expected relatively high levels of education. As was also found in relation to aspirations, Anglo boys tended to anticipate high levels of

Table 19. Description of Status Orientation Relationships and Summary of Chi-Square Significance for Mexican American and Anglo Boys and Girls

Table	Dimension	Boys		Girls	
		P at .05*	Nature of Differences	P at .05*	Nature of Differences
12	Aspiration	S	Similar	S	Mex Am higher than Anglo
13	Intensity of Aspiration	S	Mex Am higher than Anglo	NS	None
14	Expectation	S	Anglo higher than Mex Am	S	Similar
15	Certainty of Expectation	NS	None	S	Anglo greater than Mex Am
16	Anticipatory Deflection	S	Mex Am greater than Anglo	S	Mex Am greater than Anglo

*Chi-Square test for Mexican American-Anglo boys and Mexican American-Anglo girls.

education more frequently than boys of the other ethnic type and larger proportions of Mexican American girls than Anglo anticipated this level of education. In spite of the finding that large proportions of youth from either ethnic-sex type felt generally certain of attaining their educational levels, Mexican American boys and girls more frequently felt generally uncertain.

More than a clear majority of Mexican American and Anglo boys and girls did not experience deflection from their educational goals. The goal deflection which did occur was mostly negative and experienced more frequently by Mexican American youth than by Anglo youth. For the most part, deflection for members of all ethnic-sex types was within one degree positive or negative.

Conclusions from Findings

Following the guide line used for analysis of status orientations, the conclusions are presented in this same structured manner for each of the two major categories of analysis: (1) Mexican American Educational Status Orientations and (2) Educational Status Orientations of Mexican American and Anglo American Boys and Girls. General conclusions drawn for each of the two major categories are followed by specific conclusions for each of the dimensions of status orientations as follow: (1) aspirations, intensity of aspirations; (2) expectations, certainty of expectations; and (3) nature and degree of anticipatory goal deflection.

From the findings of the analysis reported here, it can be generally concluded that the Mexican American boys and girls studied were very similar in their educational status orientations. Specific conclusions drawn are as follow:

1. Aspirations
    - (a) Mexican American boys and girls desired similarly high educational levels.
    - (b) Both demonstrated strong intensities of aspirations.
2. Expectations
    - (a) Both expected similarly high educational levels.
    - (b) Large proportions of boys and girls felt relatively unsure of their educational expectations.
3. Anticipatory Goal Deflection
    - (a) Similar and substantially large proportions of boys and girls experienced deflection (mostly negative).
    - (b) Most of the deflection for both was within one degree negative or positive.

Generally speaking, it may be concluded that ethnicity appears to be a major factor in this study. Differences between Mexican American and Anglo boys and Mexican American and Anglo girls overshadowed the few similarities that were observed. Specific conclusions drawn are as follow:

1. Aspirations
    - (a) Anglo boys had higher educational aspirations than boys of Mexican American descent but Mexican American girls had higher aspirations than Anglo girls.
    - (b) Mexican American boys maintained strong desires for their educational levels to a greater extent than Anglo boys while Mexican American and Anglo girls maintained similarly strong desires.
2. Expectations
    - (a) Anglo boys anticipated higher levels of education to a greater extent than Mexican American boys but Mexican American girls expected higher levels of education than Anglo girls.
    - (b) Anglo boys, in general, felt more certain of their anticipated educational statuses than Mexican American boys and a similar relationship existed between the Anglo and Mexican American girls.
3. Anticipatory Goal Deflection
    - (a) Mexican American boys experienced anticipatory deflection

more frequently than Anglo boys and similarly, Mexican American girls experienced anticipatory deflection more frequently than Anglo girls.

(b) Most of the deflection which occurred among all youth was negative. Mexican American boys and girls were positively deflected more frequently than Anglo boys and girls.

(c) Mexican American boys and girls as well as Anglo boys and girls were usually deflected within one degree positive or negative.

Relevance to Existing Knowledge

Any generalizations derived strictly from the findings reported are necessarily limited by the nature of the population involved in both ST and ECT studies: individuals from economically depressed and predominantly rural areas of Texas. It is possible, however, to extend the significance of these findings beyond the study population by relating them to results of past research. Unfortunately, there are only three known studies of educational orientations of Mexican American youth and only one of these is useful for purposes of comparison.[1]

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[1] These studies are Herschel T. Manuel, Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest: Their Education and the Public Welfare (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965), pp. 106-108; Arturo De Hoyos, "Occupational and Educational Levels of Mexican-American Youth" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1961); and Celia S. Heller, "Ambitions of Mexican-American Youth: Goals and Means of Mobility of High School Seniors" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1963). Partial results of these studies are presented in Appendix B. Manuel's study could not be used for comparison because he was only concerned with the junior college and college educational levels of aspirations and furthermore, the responses were recorded only as "yes," "no," and "not sure." De Hoyos' study had a similar limitation to Manuel's. Although he studied aspirations and expectations, his study was limited for comparative purposes because of its broadly inclusive educational levels and only responses of "yes" or "no" were allowed. Deflection in De Hoyos' study was determined on an aggregate basis and not individually, thus this element could not be compared to the results of this thesis.

This is a study of Celia Heller's that involved educational expectations of Mexican American and Anglo respondents who were high school seniors in Los Angeles during 1955. Since Heller's study was not concerned with educational aspirations, intensity of aspirations, certainty of expectations, and anticipatory goal deflection, only comparisons of educational expectations are made. It is obvious that this lack of knowledge suggests specific needs of future research.

A detailed comparison of the sets of data from this thesis and Heller's demonstrated one important commonality: that Mexican American and Anglo boys were similar in mostly anticipating post high school levels of educational attainment. On the other hand, a major difference existed between the two studies in that a majority of youth in Heller's study from both ethnic groups anticipated a post high school vocational or junior college education as compared with less than one-third of both ethnic types involved in this thesis. A difference of particular importance in the findings of the two studies is that a much larger proportion of both ethnic types in this thesis held college or university or graduate study expectations as compared with those of Heller's.

Several possible explanations exist for the rather marked differences noted above. First of all, this thesis was concerned with predominantly rural-nonmetropolitan youth whereas Heller's involved youth from a major metropolitan area. The fact that youth in this study indicated higher anticipated educational attainment levels appears to offer evidence that this explanation is probably not correct in light of the bulk of past research.[2]

Two other differences in the study populations offer lines of explanation for the differences in the expectations observed: (1) that expectations of youth of both types have increased over the span of time from 1955 to the present and (2) that older youth (seniors in Heller's study) have lower level expectations than younger youth (sophomores in this thesis). There are theoretical bases for assuming that the second of the above hypotheses is deserving of future research. It may be that seniors, due to their additional years of exposure to the various socialization elements, are able to make more realistic decisions regarding their future than sophomores. In addition, it seems possible that their decisions might reflect an evaluation of limitations inherent in their social situations.

This thesis' findings, when compared to those from Ohlendorf's study of Negro-white youth, revealed no obvious minority-majority categorical patterns. One exception to this was the finding on anticipatory goal deflection where members of both minorities (Mexican American and Negro) experienced deflection more frequently than Anglo youth. Since there are no known studies comparing Negro, Mexican American and Anglo youth on all the dimensions of status orientations used in this study, future research could be directed toward this lack of knowledge.

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[2] Berdie's follow-up study of the educational orientations of 2,700 Minnesota high school seniors reported that one-half of the metropolitan male youth expected to go to college as compared to two-fifths from the nonfarm areas. A similar relationship existed among the females with two-fifths of the metropolitan and nonfarm categories expecting to go to college contrasted to only one-fifth of the farm category. Similar findings were reported by Burchinal in a study of 312 boys from Greene County, Iowa. Over four-fifths of the urban boys and more than three-fifths of the small town-rural nonfarm compared with less than one-half of the farm boys planned to attend college. A clear difference between farm and urban youth was also noted in Sewell's study of 10,321 seniors from Wisconsin. Twice as many urban youth than farm youth had college plans. See, respectively, Ralph F. Berdie, "Why Don't They Go To College?" The Personnel and Guidance Journal, 31 (March, 1953), pp. 352-356; Lee G. Burchinal, "Differences in Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Farm, Small-Town, and City Boys," Rural Sociology, 26 (June, 1961) pp. 107-121; and William H. Sewell, "Community of Residence and College Plans," American Sociological Review, 29 (February, 1964), pp. 24-38. On the other hand, these findings might negate the belief that rural youth have lower

Implications

Theory

The results of the analysis clearly bring into question the inference that Mexican American youth have lower educational orientations than comparable Anglo youth: this inference was derived from Parsons' assertion that the Spanish-American subculture is characterized by a Particularistic-Ascriptive value configuration.[3] While the data does not provide a direct test of Parsons' proposition, it certainly brings into question the particular inference pertaining to low educational orientations of Mexican American youth. In general, the Mexican Americans desired and expected high educational levels--in both cases similar to what was observed for the Anglo youth. What is more, the Mexican American respondents generally demonstrated a stronger intensity

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levels of educational orientations than urban youth. Obviously this could only be resolved through further research.

[3] Talcott Parsons, The Social System (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1951), p. 199.

of desire for their educational goal than did the Anglo boys. Since Parsons' concern with the pattern variables is that of goal achievement, it seems possible that the dimension on intensity of aspirations adds to the utility and possibly even to the validity of the pattern variable. It appears that a major problem inherent in Parsons' dichotomous scheme arises from the concept "goal-achievement." A question that needs to be asked here is--At what level of goal-achievement does a social structure attain the Universalistic-Achievement characteristic? A high school education could be considered as being goal-achievement just as well as a college education. If so, does this mean that persons who have a high school education are less Universalistic-Achievement than those with a college education? The same could be said of the other pattern variables or combinations thereof. It may be that the answer lies in the use of an intensity indicator such as that used for this thesis.

The results on educational aspirations, while bringing into question the validity of Parsons' assertion about Spanish-Americans, provide support for Merton's contention that inculcation of high success goals exists as a general pattern among differentiated segments of American society.[4] In addition, results on intensity of aspirations represent an attempt to fulfill Merton's suggestion for measuring the intensity to which the educational goals are held by diverse groups in society and further demonstrate the utility of this dimension of status orientations.[5]

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[4] Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, enl. and rev. ed. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1951), pp. 132-133.

The findings of this thesis (a substantially large proportion of predominantly lower-class Mexican American and apparently middle-class Anglo youth desired high educational goals) tend to support other findings reported by Hyman in a study of value systems of different classes.[6] Since this thesis was not concerned with goal differentiation by socio-economic status, Hyman's belief that the lower-class members place less value on education as a culturally prescribed goal is neither directly supported nor refuted. However, assuming that the Anglo sample has a relatively higher SES than the generally lower-class Mexican American (considering the background data presented in Chapter III, this seems a safe assumption) the findings refute Hyman's proposition regarding value systems of different classes. This is so, due to the similarly large proportions of Mexican American and Anglo youth who aspired and expected high levels of education. Further research relating SES to educational status orientations, especially of Mexican American youth, would help to fill this gap of knowledge.

Conclusions of this study concerning educational goal levels and anticipated educational attainment levels also suggest lines of research that would evaluate the validity of Stephenson's contention that social class influences expectations more than aspirations.[7] The same limitation discussed above in relation to Hyman's theory also applies to this discussion on Stephenson. That is, that this thesis is not concerned with SES differentiation. The same assumption made in regards to Hyman's proposition can also be made in regards to Stephenson. The greater proportions of Mexican Americans than Anglos who experienced negative deflection offers support for Stephenson's contention that social class influences expectations more than aspirations.

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[5] Ibid., p. 171.

[6] Herbert H. Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes: A Social Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification," in Class, Status, and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification, ed. by Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset (Second edition; Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1966), pp. 488-499.

Research

Since studies on educational status orientations of Mexican Americans are extremely scarce, especially those comparing Mexican American and Anglo youth, this study is deemed a useful contribution to the literature. This study marks the first time that educational status orientations of Mexican American youth had been studied in terms of a multi-dimensional framework. Of particular significance has been the revealment of areas that should be of social concern, that is, the large proportion of youth, and especially those of Mexican American descent, who experienced goal deflection. Also of concern is the large proportion of Mexican American and Anglo youth who felt unsure of their anticipated educational statuses. This would appear to be of importance from the viewpoint of social frustration that youth may experience due to lack of goal attainment.

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[7] Richard M. Stephenson, "Mobility Orientation and Stratification of 1,000 Ninth Graders," American Sociological Review, 22 (April, 1957), pp. 204-212.

In addition to exposing the above areas of concern, this study has also disclosed several potential areas, some of which have already been mentioned, that are worthy of research. Although numerous studies have been performed relating educational orientations of Anglo and Negro youth to socio-economic status of their parents, few have been done in this respect on Mexican American youth. The need for such studies was brought out even clearer after the discussions of Hyman and Stephenson regarding SES and educational status orientations. Also worthy of future research is Merton's typology of adaptions as related subsequent behavior of educational orientations. In addition, further evaluation of his theory of universalistic goals as it relates to low class Mexican Americans' orientations toward other status areas, e.g. income, leisure time, residence, and occupation, would be advantageous.[8]

Depth studies of those students who experienced goal deflection could expose vital problems not immediately revealed through the more general approach of this study. Similarly, depth studies regarding the students who felt unsure of their educational expectations might reveal and clarify needed answers to the school dropout problems, especially those of Mexican Americans who have extremely high dropout rates.[9]

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[8] One recent study which has related occupational status orientations of Mexican Americans to Merton's theory of universalistic goals is is that of David E. Wright, "Occupational Orientations of Mexican American Youth in Selected Texas Counties" (unpublished Master of Science thesis, Texas A&M University, August, 1968).

Additional research is needed to test the general validity and reliability of the conclusions presented above regarding educational orientations of Mexican American youth and those pertaining to the Mexican American-Anglo comparison. Of particular emphasis should be the generalizations that Mexican American boys and girls had very similar educational orientations as contrasted to differences between Anglo boys and girls which were observed in this study as well as in several others.

Have the eudcational status orientations of Mexican American and Anglo youth risen? Unfortunately, since no other methodologically and conceptually comparable studies are available, especially on Mexican American youth, this study does not provide the answer to this question. Nevertheless, it does expose another potential area for future research, especially that of a longitudinal nature. In light of the extremely limited number of available studies, more studies comparing educational orientations along ethnic lines are needed. Of even greater need, as is evidenced by their low occupational and educational achievements, are studies comparing Negroes and Mexican Americans on the various dimensions of educational status orientations.

Evaluation of multi-dimensional conceptual scheme

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[9] Manuel, *op. cit.*, p. 62; and Richard A. Lamanna and Julian Samora, "Recent Trends in Educational Status of Mexican-Americans in Texas," *Proceedings of the First Texas Conference for the Mexican American*, ed. by Dwain M. Estes and David W. Darling (San Antonio, April 13-15, 1967), pp. 20-41.

During the course of this study, several limitations of the multidimensional conceptual scheme were noted. One, which was originally noted by Ohlendorf, arises from the concept of "goal".[10] Since the findings of this thesis show that almost two-thirds of the Mexican American youth and three-fourths of the Anglo did not experience goal deflection, the implication is that the object of an aspiration and an expectation were both viewed as "goals." For example, referring back to the findings reported in Table 11 on patterns of consistency among Mexican American youth, four-fifths of the males who aspired to only finish high school expected to do so. Since by definition, the social object of an aspiration is a goal (high school graduation in this illustration) and similarly, the social object of expectation was also "finishing high school only," it seems clear that the objects of these expectations were also goals.

A second limitation, which is interrelated to the above limitation, appears to stem from the assumption in the operational definition of aspiration that because the object is more or less desired, it is therefore a "goal." However, this definition is judged to be too inclusive in reference to the more common usage of this term in the behavioral sciences.[11] While the object to be denoted as a goal obviously has a positive valence, and therefore can be considered as desirable, the idea also includes the element of intended action. It is proposed that goal be defined, in terms of this particular effort, as the type or level of education that a person (or persons) desires and intends to attain. Although an individual may desire a particular level of education, he may never intend to attain it, consequently not establishing it as a goal. It is suggested that this type of orientation (desire but no intention) be labeled a "desiration." For example, some youth have been known to desire graduate degrees but have no intentions of exposing themselves to the arduous and demanding tasks necessary to obtain one.[12] Thus, the graduate degree is never established as a goal but merely the object of desire.

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[10] Ohlendorf, op. cit., p. 89.

[11] Julius Gould and William L. Kalb, A Dictionary of the Social Science, (Fourth printing; New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 290-291.

A similar limitation exists in reference to expectations. The concept of expectation, as it was used in this thesis, did not differentiate between (a) social objects that are desired and expected and (b) social objects that are not desired but are expected. Therefore, it is suggested that the terms "Desirable Expectation" for the former type and "Undesirable Expectation" for the latter be used. As an example of this differentiation is a person who has as a goal, attainment of a graduate degree. On the one hand, he may also expect a graduate degree and on the other hand may expect a bachelor's degree. This would probably be a "desirable expectation." But, if this person perceives that he cannot meet the requirements for the bachelor's degree, he may expect to terminate his formal education only with high school. In all probability, this would be an

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[12] This observation grew out of the numerous informal discussions at the Agricultural Economics and Sociology graduate students' "brown-bag" seminars.

"undesirable expectation." Figure 2, illustrates this delineation of expectations.

Figure 2. Delineation of Expectations

Undesirable Expectation   Desirable Expectation
-                    0   +

Valuation

In summary, the following types of status orientations are thought to exist and the subsequent model, Figure 3, illustrates the relationships believed to exist between the different types of status orientations and "goal:"

Types of Status Orientations

1. Desiration--a desire for a social object that one does not intend to attain. Social object is not a goal.

2. Aspiration--a desire for a social object that one does intend to attain. Social object is a goal.

3. Undesirable Expectation--no desire for a social object but one does expect attainment. Social object is not a goal.

4. Desirable Expectation--(a) desire for a social object and one does expect attainment. If this desire is accompanied with intended action, the social object becomes a goal. This goal, however, may be different from that of an aspiration; (b) a desire for a social object and one does expect attainment. If this desire is not accompanied with intended action, the social object does not become a goal.

Figure 3. Model of Status Orientation-Goal Relationship

	Status Orientation Desiration	Aspiration	Undesirable Expectation	Desirable Expectation
Goal	-	+	-	(a)+ if accompanied with intended action (b)- if no intended action

Legend: (-) = Social object not a goal

(+) = Social object a goal

Somewhat comparable to Kuvlesky and Bealer's concept of anticipatory goal deflection is "crystallization" of the social object of status orientations. "Crystallization" is apparent under the Desirable Expectation-Goal relationship given in Figure 3. This suggestion, however, requires elaboration which is beyond the scope of this thesis.

It is obvious that further efforts aimed at conceptualization and research on this tangent of status orientations is needed. Of particular need is instruments that will measure the various types of status orientations. From the preceding evaluation, it appears that in order to obtain a complete or comprehensive understanding of a person's status orientations, it is essential to incorporate: (1) desirability, in reference to expectations, and (2) intentionality, in reference to aspirations. This delineation of status orientations is believed to be more precise than that which was used for this thesis. Since it is more precise, it is possible that it will be able to predict clearer and more reliably probable attainments.

A third limitation is that of the indicator used for "intensity" of educational aspirations. The indicator's alternatives are not mutually exclusive and consequently may not mean the same thing to all respondents. For example, the alternative "to earn as much money as I can" may mean to the individual answering the question "to earn as much money as I can" in order "to get all the education I want." Since priority was given to income rather than education, the intensity value on education is lower, when theoretically, it was higher than income. Such ambiguities are left for refinements to be determined only through further research and possible development of another instrument to measure intensity.

In spite of these limitations, it is believed that the conceptual scheme utilized for this study appears to be an improvement over previous schemes used for status orientation research. With the use of this scheme, it is possible to distinguish between desired and anticipated social objects. This delineation is deemed important from the viewpoint that it might promote a better understanding of youth's status orientations as well as for predicting probable attainment of status orientations. In addition, it provides an attempt at measuring the strength toward the social objects. The strength toward a social object when considered with the dimension of anticipatory goal deflection helps to predict potential areas of youth frustration as well as to partially explain its nature. Its utility is especially evident in clarifying and exposing problem areas of educational status orientations of youth. This was possible due to the detailed educational levels that were used in the aspiration and expectation research instruments.

Policy

This thesis' results demonstrate that rural youth, Mexican American or Anglo, do not in general suffer from low aspirations or expectations for educational attainment. Consequently, it seems fair to propose that any social disadvantage they suffer is due to lack of opportunity to realize their goals and expectations and not due to lack of motivation, interest, or cognizance. The Mexican American youth probably suffer more in this respect than the Anglo because of greater language problems and social discrimination based on ethnic prejudice. In spite of the large proportions of Mexican American boys and girls who desire and anticipate some type of formal education after high school, it has been found that the secondary level Mexican American students have fewer college preparatory, commerical, and industrial arts curricula and more agriculture.[13] Since the trend appears to be toward a more technological society and decreasing agrarian opportunities, it seems logical to propose implementation of more college

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[13] George W. Mayeske, "Educational Achievement Among Mexican-Americans," A special report from the Educational Opportunities Summary Division of Operations Analysis, National Center for Educational Statistics in Hearings held in Washington, D.C., June 28 and 29, 1967 (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967), pp. 449-453.

preparatory, commercial, and industrial curricula in schools which do not have them or at least where they are not as developed. Realizing that the financial status of some rural schools are deprived, this action could possibly be shared by the state and national educational agencies with the use of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Of direct relevance for this purpose would be Title I of the Act which provides educational assistance for the disadvantaged segments of the population.

In this same respect, four-year colleges and universities might consider lowering entrance requirements for youth who have strong desires for college, but due to inadequate preparatory education are not able to meet the present entrance standards. This is not to suggest lowering standards in regards to the highly valued "academic excellence," but merely to provide opportunities for advancement toward the better things that America has to offer for all youth.

Almost one-fifth of the Mexican American youth and twice as many Anglo youth expected to graduate from high school and take vocational training. These large proportions are evidence that considerable demand exists for post high school vocational training programs. However, it is a known fact that most of these types of institutions are located in the more urbanized areas, thus making it more difficult for the rural youth to gain access to such facilities. One suggestion for solving this problem is to locate these types of educational institutions in rural areas. This not only makes it possible for rural youth to improve their status in society as well as help them to make contributions to society, but might also encourage industry to move into the rural areas. Such a change would more than likely alleviate the rural-urban migration problem which has its undesirable inherent contributions to urban deterioration. This approach suggests that possibly a "rural-renewal" program is needed to supplement and help the "urban-renewal" program in achieving its objectives for ameliorating the cities.

The large proportions of Mexican American boys and girls as well as the lesser but still significant proportions of Anglo youth who expected to terminate their education with high school graduation and the more than one-tenth of Mexican American youth and the slightly smaller proportion of Anglo youth that expected a junior college education might be a cue for junior colleges and vocational training schools to implement recruiting programs in the rural areas. Efforts should be made to locate more junior colleges in rural areas where they can serve rural youth more conveniently and in larger proportions. An alternative or complementary solution would be to expand the vocational training program in the high schools.

Another policy implication is one of a general nature. It seems that too often teachers are expected to perform counseling roles, when in fact, they are not adequately trained in this specialized and critical role. Poor counseling can obliterate a student's motivation while counseling which instills unrealistic goals can cause frustration. Thus, counselors with adequate training in this respect are needed to give fruitful guidance and understanding to those students who require it. In the case of Mexican American youth, it might be better to have Mexican American couselors available to them rather than counselors of another ethnic or racial identity. As a source of counselors, teachers from these same schools could be selected for counselor training. This could be achieved with the help of Title I of the Act which provides for counseling facilities.

Merton's concept of deviant behavior is one which deserves being mentioned, especially when the large proportion of youth desiring and expecting high levels of education is considered. Since education is seen as a means to a satisfactory level of living in American society, those whose educational objectives are blocked may cause personal frustration in them and thus resort to by-passing the institutionalized means available for achievement of cultural goals. The possible individual adaptation behavior patterns could be dysfunctional for societal stability.[14]

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[14] Merton, op. cit., pp. 140-157.

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APPENDIX A

CHARACTERISTICS OF TEXAS POPULATION

TABLE 20. OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION BY SEX AND ETHNIC AFFILIATION OF PERSONS AGES FOURTEEN AND OVER IN TEXAS

CLASS	TOTAL POPULATION		WHITE SPANISH SURNAME		ANGLO WHITE		NONWHITE	
	MALE %	FEMALE %	MALE %	FEMALE %	MALE %	FEMALE %	MALE %	FEMALE %
A	9	13	3	6	11	16	3	7
B	6	1	3	0	7	1	3	0
C	12	5	5	3	15	6	2	1
D	6	29	4	16	7	36	3	3
E	7	8	4	9	8	10	1	1
F	19	1	16	1	21	1	8	0
G	18	9	22	20	17	8	21	7
H	0	11	0	16	0	3	1	47
I	6	15	7	16	4	13	19	25
J	4	1	16	6	2	1	7	1
K	8	1	16	1	4	0	24	1
L	5	6	4	6	4	5	8	7
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

SOURCE: COMPILED AND COMPUTED FROM THE U. S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, U. S. CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1960, VOLUME 1, CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION, PART 45, TEXAS (WASHINGTON, D. C.: U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, 1963), TABLE 122; AND U. S. CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1960, SUBJECT REPORTS, PERSONS OF SPANISH SURNAME, FINAL REPORT PC (2)-1B, TABLE 6.

A) PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL, AND KINDRED WORKERS (ENGINEERS, LAWYERS, PHYSICIANS, TEACHERS, ETC.)
B) FARMERS AND FARM MANAGERS (OWNERS, TENANTS, ETC.)
C) MANAGERS, OFFICIALS, AND PROPRIETORS, EXCEPT FARM (PUBLIC OFFICIALS, BUYERS, ETC.)
D) CLERICAL AND KINDRED WORKERS (SECRETARIES, STENOGRAPHERS, BOOKKEEPERS, ETC.)
E) SALES WORKERS (BROKERS, SALESMEN, NEWSBOYS, ETC.)
F) CRAFTSMEN, FOREMEN, AND KINDRED WORKERS (CARPENTERS, MECHANICS, BAKERS, ETC.)
G) OPERATIVES AND KINDRED WORKERS (BUS DRIVERS, DRESSMAKERS, RAILROAD BRAKEMEN, ETC.)
H) PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD WORKERS (HOUSEKEEPERS, LAUNDRESS, BABY SITTERS, ETC.)
I) SERVICE WORKERS, EXCEPT PRIVATE HOUSEHOLDS (POLICE, FIREMEN, BARBERS, ETC.)
J) FARM LABORERS AND FOREMEN (UNPAID FAMILY AND SELF-EMPLOYED FARM SERVICE LABORERS)
K) LABORERS EXCEPT FARM AND MINE (TEAMSTERS, GARAGE LABORERS, FISHERMEN, ETC.)
L) OCCUPATION NOT REPORTED

Table 21. Number, Proportion of Low-Income Families, and Mean Number of Members Per Family of Anglo White Persons, White Persons of Spanish Surname, and Nonwhite Persons in Texas

Classification	Families		Families with less than $3,000 Income		Mean Number of Members per Family
	No.	%	No.	%	
Texas	2,392,564	100.0	687,965	28.8	3.7
Anglo-White	1,857,293	77.6	395,598	21.3	4.0
White Spanish Surname	270,438	11.3	139,663	51.6	5.2
Nonwhite	264,833	11.1	152,704	57.7	4.1

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 45, Texas (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Tables 14, 50, and 65; and U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Persons of Spanish Surname, Final Report PC (2)-1B, Tables 3 and 5.

Table 22. Ethnic, Education, and Income Characteristics of Texas

Classification	Persons		Families		Median School Years[A]	Median Family Income
	No.	%	No.	%	%	
Total Population	9,579,677	100.0	2,392,564	100.0	10.4	$4,884
Anglo-White	6,957,021	72.6	1,857,293	77.6	11.5	5,636
White Spanish Surname	1,417,810	14.8	270,438	11.3	6.1	2,913
Nonwhite	1,204,846	12.6	264,833	11.1	8.1	2,614

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Bureau of the Census, *U. S. Census of Population: 1960*, Volume 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, Part 45, Texas (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Tables 14, 47, and 65; *U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Persons of Spanish Surname*, Final Report (2)-1B, Tables 1, 3, and 5; and W. Kennedy Upham and David E. Wright, *Poverty Among Spanish Americans in Texas: Low-Income Families in a Minority Group*, Departmental Information Report 66-2 (College Station: Texas A&M University, September, 1966), p. 21.

[A] 25 years old and over.

APPENDIX B

TABULATED FINDINGS OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Table 23. De Hoyos Study on Mexican American Youth: Distribution of Sample by Answers to Two Questions on Educational Aspiration

Questions on Educational Aspiration	Response					
	Yes		No		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Idealistic						
If you could, would you like to go to college?	70	77	21	23	91	100
Realistic						
Do you plan to continue your education beyond high school?	45	49	46	51	91	100

Source: Arturo De Hoyos, "Occupational and Educational Levels of Mexican American Youth" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1961), table 8, p. 74.

Table 24. Sample of Herschel T. Manuel's Study

Ethnic Category	Grade 9		Grades 10, 11, 12	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Mexican American	92	97	30	30
Anglo American	40	38	397	324

Source: Herschel T. Manuel, *Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest: Their Education and The Public Welfare* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965), pp. 106-107.

Table 25. H. T. Manuel's Findings on: Educational Aspirations of Mexican American and Anglo American Youth from a Texas City in Grades 9-12

Aspiration	Male		Female	
	Mex-Am (N=122) %	Anglo (N=437) %	Mex-Am (N=127) %	Anglo (N=362) %
Yes	34	62	31	53
No	20	14	17	20
I'm Not Sure	46	23	51	26

Ibid., pp. 106-107.

Table 26. Partial Results of Heller's Study of Male High School Seniors from Working Class Background--Los Angeles Metropolitan Area, 1955[a]

"Eventually, how much school do you expect to get after you finish high school?"	Mex Am (N=107) %	An Am (N=443) %
1. No schooling beyond high school	24.5	19.4
2. Business, trade or technical school	24.5	18.7
3. Junior College or 1-3 years of college	32.1	32.1
4. University or 4-year college graduation	14.2	18.7
5. Post graduate work or professional school	4.7	9.9
6. Other	.0	1.1
TOTAL	100.0%	99.9%

Source: Celia S. Heller, "Ambitions of Mexican-American Youth--Goals and Means of Mobility of High School Seniors" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1963), table 23, p. 108.

[a] Breadwinner's occupation is manual.

*No answer and unclassified (1).

$X^2 = 4.56$ Not significant at .10 level. For the Chi-square test the categories were thus combined: (2,3,6) and (4,5).

APPENDIX C

EXCERPTS FROM RESEARCH INSTRUMENT USED IN THE SOUTH TEXAS STUDY

2. Sex (Circle one number): 1 Male 2 Female

***

6. What is your race? (Circle one number):

1 White 2 Negro 3 Oriental 4 Indian 5 Other

***

13. If you could have as much schooling as you desired, which of the following would you do? (Circle only one number):

1 Quit school right now.
2 Complete high school.
3 Complete a business, commercial, electronics, or some other technical program after finishing high school.
4 Graduate from a junior college (2 Years).
5 Graduate from a college or university.
6 Complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university.

***

14. (a) What do you really expect to do about your education? (Circle only one number):

1 Quit school right now.
2 Complete high school.
3 Complete a business, commercial, electronics, or some other technical program after finishing high school.
4 Graduate from a junior college (2 years).
5 Graduate from a college or university.
6 Complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university.

(b) How certain are you that you will really achieve the education you expect?

I am: (Circle one number.)

1	2	3	4	5
Very Certain	Certain	Not very Certain	Uncertain	Very Uncertain

***

27. Listed below are a number of things that most young people look forward to. Rank them in order of their importance to you. For the one you think is most important put a number 1 in front of it; for the next most important one put in a number 2; and so on until you have a different number (from 1 to 7) for each one. Read over the entire list before answering the question.

_____ To have lots of free time to do what I want.

_____ To get all the education I want.

_____ To earn as much money as I can.

_____ To get the job I want most.

_____ To live in the kind of place I like best.

_____ To have the kind of house, car, furniture, and other things like this I want.

_____ To get married and raise a family.

CHECK YOUR ANSWERS! You should have used each number from 1 to 7 only one time and you should have a number in each blank space.

***

28. Are you of Spanish-American ancestry? (Circle one number.)

1 Yes   2 No

EXCERPTS FROM RESEARCH INSTRUMENT USED IN THE EAST CENTRAL TEXAS STUDY

***

2. Are you male or female? (Circle one number.)

1 Male   2 Female

***

6. What is your race? (Circle one number)

1	2	3	4
American Indian	Oriental	Negro	White

***

18. Listed below are a number of things that most young people look forward to. Rank them in order of their importance to you. For the one you think is most important check number 1 in front of it; for the next most important one check number 2, and so on until you have a number checked for each one. Read over the entire list before answering the question. (Check only one number beside each statement and check each different number only once.)

Order of Importance to You

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
____	____	____	____	____	____	____	Having lots of free time to do what I want.
____	____	____	____	____	____	____	To develop my mind and get all the education I want.
____	____	____	____	____	____	____	To earn as much money as I can.
____	____	____	____	____	____	____	Getting the job I want most.
____	____	____	____	____	____	____	Living in the kind of place I like best.
____	____	____	____	____	____	____	Having the kind of house, car, furniture, and other things like this I want.
____	____	____	____	____	____	____	To get married and raise a family.

CHECK YOUR ANSWERS! You should have each number checked only once and a single number should be checked for each statement.

***

25. If you could have as much education as you desired and were completely free to choose, which of the following would you do? (Circle only one number.)

1 Quit high school and never go to school again.
2 Quit high school and take some vocational training for a job.
3 Graduate from high school and never go to school again.
4 Graduate from high school and then complete a business, commercial, nurses training, or some other technical school program.
5 Graduate from a Junior College.
6 Graduate from a College or University.

7 Complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university.

***

32. How sure are you that you will really achieve the education you expect?

I am: (Circle one number.)

1	2	3	4	5
Very sure	Sure	Not very sure	Uncertain	Very uncertain

APPENDIX D

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

Table 27. Marital Status of Parents of Mexican American Respondents

Status	Males		Females	
	No.	%	No.	%
No Information	1	0	1	0
Together	244	84	250	82
Separated or Divorced	13	5	21	7
Father, Mother, or both Dead	32	11	34	11
TOTAL	290	100	306	100

Table 28. Identity of Major Money Earner in Mexican American Respondents' Households

Identity	Males		Females	
	No.	%	No.	%
No Information	2	1	0	0
Father	222	76	229	75
Mother	22	8	25	8
Brother or Sister	19	6	25	8
Other	25	9	27	9
TOTAL	290	100	306	100

Table 29. Occupation of Major Money Earner in Mexican American Respondents' Households

Occupation	Males		Females	
	No.	%	No.	%
No Information	25	9	22	7
Farm Owner	17	6	16	5
Farm Laborer or Laborer	88	30	80	26
Enlisted Man and Operative	39	13	27	9
Skilled Trade	41	14	53	18
Sales and Clerical	25	9	31	10
Owner	25	9	34	11
Officer and Professional	16	6	24	8
Glamour	1	0	1	0
Unemployed, Don't Know	13	4	18	6
TOTAL	290	100	306	100

Table 30. Employment Status of Mother of Mexican American Respondents

Employment Status	Males		Females	
	No.	%	No.	%
No Information	5	2	3	1
No mother or stepmother	6	2	6	2
Full-time	39	13	39	13
Part-time	45	15	42	14
Looking for work	9	3	22	7
Does not work	167	58	180	59
Don't know	19	7	14	4
TOTAL	290	100	306	100

Table 31. Educational Attainment of Mexican American Parents of Respondents

Level	Father		Mother	
	No.	%	No.	%
No Information	11	2	14	3
Don't Know	139	23	102	17
Less than High School	344	58	371	62
High School Graduate and Vocational School	62	10	79	13
Some College or College Graduate	40	7	30	5
TOTAL	596	100	596	100

Table 32. Original Responses on Educational Aspirations of Youth by Ethnicity and Sex

Educational Level	Males		Females		All Respondents	
	MA	Anglo	MA	Anglo	MA	Anglo
No Information	2	0	1	0	3	0
Quit High School	1	6	0	1	1	7
Graduate From High School	54	14	65	8	119	22
Graduate From High School & Take Vocational Training	56	26	37	60	93	86
Graduate From a Junior College	25	13	49	12	74	25
Graduate From a College or University	92	60	92	32	184	92
Complete Graduate Study	60	24	62	18	122	42
TOTAL	290	143	306	131	596	274

Table 33. Original Responses on Intensity of Educational Aspirations by Ethnicity and Sex

Intensity	Males		Females		All Respondents	
	MA	Anglo	MA	Anglo	MA	Anglo
No Information	2	0	0	0	2	0
Strong	245	99	273	106	518	205
Intermediate	28	28	25	17	53	45
Weak	15	16	8	8	23	24
TOTAL	290	143	306	131	596	274

Table 34. Original Responses on Educational Expectations of Youth by Ethnicity and Sex

Educational Level	Males		Females		All Respondents	
	MA	Anglo	MA	Anglo	MA	Anglo
No Information	1	0	1	0	2	0
Quit High School	1	5	2	1	3	6
Graduate from High School	89	23	96	16	185	39
Graduate from High School & Take Vocational Training	54	35	51	66	105	101
Graduate from a Junior College	32	10	44	11	76	21
Graduate from a College or University	87	60	88	27	175	87
Complete Graduate Study	26	10	24	10	50	20
TOTAL	290	143	306	131	596	274

Table 35. Original Responses on Certainty of Educational Expectations of Youth by Ethnicity and Sex

Certainty	Males		Females		All Respondents	
	MA	Anglo	MA	Anglo	MA	Anglo
No Information	1	0	2	0	3	0
Very Certain	30	23	41	39	71	62
Certain	113	65	112	44	225	109
Not Very Certain	131	46	136	47	267	93
Uncertain	15	9	15	1	30	10
TOTAL	290	143	306	131	596	274

Table 36. Original Responses on Anticipatory Goal Deflection by Ethnicity and Sex

Nature of Deflection	Males		Females		All Respondents	
	MA	Anglo	MA	Anglo	MA	Anglo
No Information	2	0	2	0	4	0
None	171	104	191	101	362	205
Positive	27	6	15	1	42	7
Negative	90	33	98	29	188	62
TOTAL	290	143	306	131	596	274

Table 37. Original Measurements on Nature and Degree of Anticipatory Goal Deflection of Youth by Ethnicity and Sex

Nature and Degree of Deflection	Males		Females		All Respondents	
	MA	Anglo	MA	Anglo	MA	Anglo
No Information	2	0	2	0	4	0
None	171	104	191	101	362	205
Positive						
+1	20	4	7	1	27	5
+2	5	2	3	0	8	2
+3	2	0	3	0	5	0
+4	0	0	2	0	2	0
+5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Negative						
-1	46	17	45	17	91	34
-2	17	6	24	8	41	14
-3	13	9	17	4	30	13
-4	14	1	12	0	26	1
-5	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	290	143	306	131	596	274

VITA

NAME: Rumaldo Zapata Juarez

DATE OF BIRTH: July 31, 1943 PLACE OF BIRTH: Robstown, Texas

PARENTS' NAME: Leopoldo Peña Juarez
Maria Zapata Juarez

PERMANENT ADDRESS: 471 Cenizo Drive
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Texas A&M University, August 1966--	B.S. in Sociology with a minor in Psychology
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September 1967-May 1968--	Research Assistant, Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Texas A&M University.
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June 1966-September 1966--	Store Clerk.

TYPIST: The typist for this thesis was Mrs. Ruth Cedillo.